



O write the Lives of Princes, in another world, and fallen. through their owne frailties, or by the influence of others

counsells from the high pitch of Soveraignty (for regality is a slippery pre-cipice) in charity may be allowed a faire and favourable memoriall; but for a King falling by the high hand of Justice, not for common faults and frailties (incident to humane nature) but presumptuous sins, sins of lood, perfidie, cruelty, rapine, wilfully perpetrated in the face of God and man, and without any remorfe, to purfue

pursue the destruction not of one, but three flourishing Kingdoms, such desperate and violent Princes, deserve no other favour than to be set out to the life of their Tyrannous actions; though in pitty to him, who hath already paid his debt to Nature, and his offences, much of his exorbitant government and irregular motions might, and doubtlesse would have been concealed, more tenderly intreated, and himselse sufferered to rest where he is, in the filent grave, had not that madneffe of his defeated furviving party by their indefatigable instigations, given frequent occasion of raking over the ashes of him, who living (without injury to truth and his memory it may be faid) that rather than to have failed in the accomplishing of his defigns, (had it layn in in his power) he would have set the World on fire. It was an unhappy and Balaick, no mingenious expression of * him, who hath written it, That there were a fort of men borne to the world, not so suffer it to be at rest; a sentence not

not more true, than made good in this most unhappy King, had this been put in addition (neither himselfe to take his owne rest, and sleep (as he could not) quietly and peaceably like other

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I am not ignorant what senslesse maxims and ridiculous principles have gotten credit in the World (as undoubted Oracles indisputably to be obeyed) as that de mortais nil nisi bona, but by no means to tread on the facred Urne of Princes, though living never so vicious and exorbitant, as if death had bequeathed unto them a supersedeas for the covering over their faults and licencious reignes, and to close them up in the Coffin of Oblivion with a ne plus ulira, not to admit of the least mention that they had done amisse, when many thousands of oppressed and desolated families must stand mute, whilest the malicious partizans of an irregular King, take a liberty to themselves, to vindicate his indefensible actions, and not so content, but asperse and scan-A4

dalise those that opposed him in his cruelties, and likewise would perswade others to adore him for a Saint, and an innocent martyr, whose Fathers, Brothers, and Friends, have been most barbarously slain to fulfill the lust and pleasure of one wilfull man: if to speake truth in due season, or to be the faithfull witnesse to convey the verity of things past to the present and after times, be a crime unpardonable, or an injustice done to the memory of the dead, the Malignant generation of this age may on the same reason charge it as a fault on those holy and inspired pen-men of the sacred Scrip-tures, which have recorded and left to after ages the wicked reignes of Kings, leaving an everlasting staine and taint on their memories; how prophane would it be to tax that holy man (the meekest of men) Moses, for leaving to posterity the fratricide of Carne? the mockery of that wicked Cam? what madnesse to accuse Samuel, and the Authors of the Chronicles of the Kings of Inda and Israel, in leaving to after ages

the Tyranny of Sant, in murthering at once eighty of Gods priests? that presumptuous sin and persidious fact of David, in plotting the death of Vriab, that he might enjoy his Wife which lay in his bosome? Rehoboams Tyrannies? the Cruelties and Idolatries of Ieroboam, who stands branded, as the Sonne of Nebat, which made Ifrael to fin? with what face can it be imputed as an incharity to Tacitus, Livy, Florus, and others of the Roman Historians, for inserting in their histories, the rape of Lucretia by that Tyrant Tarquin? the Tyrannies of Tiberius and his privado Seianus? those of Nero, that Monster of Princes, and the condemnation of him by the Senate? To omit Forraign examples, what offence in reason can be charged on Matthew Paris, Horeden, Sir Th. Moor, Daniell, and infinite others, of our owne Historians, for describing the vices and tyrannies of our owne Kings both ancient and moderne? What injury have they committed in their Registers, in setting down

downe that william the first of our Norman Kings, was a known Bastard of Robert Duke of Normandy, an ufurper, and from which spurious root all our Kings since his usurpation derive heir deified titles, and that most of his descendants ruled tyrannically, and that amongst them all King John was one of the most subtill, persideous and bloody Princes that history hath afforded? That Henry the third his sonne (admitted by the indulgence of the Barons and People in hopes of his better Government) proved as oppressive and bloody to the Nation as any of the rest: That Richard the third in murthering his Brothers fon nes, and usurping the Crowne, was more wicked than the worst? That Hemy the seventh was the descendant of a Bastard sonne of lohn of Gaunt, begotten on Sivinford another mans Catherine Wife, though legitimated by act of Parliament, yet had no other title to the Crowne but that of his Sword? That fix of his descendants, and of our last Princes, claym their rights to Crowne

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Crowne from his spurious stock (as if it had been in the fate of the English Nation, to be perpetually chaind up to the irregular domination of a race of Kinge, transmitted from one bastardized roote to another? That Hemy the eighth was a most imperious and bloody prince, the pattern and Idea of all Tyranny, and one that neither spared any man in his wrath, or woman in his lust? That his daughter Queen Mary was the spurious issue begotten on Catherine of Austria his elder brother Arthurs Wife, that Aletto, superstitious and bloody Princesse; That King lames, and our late King (harls, were discendants from the same Stock of Henry of Richmond, the one who most of all our Kings secretly, cunningly, and underhand indeavoured, and laid the plot to undermine the freedoms of the english nation, and King Charl's to have followed the design with more plots, wiles, and stratagems, than any of our former Kings, raised more treasure by undue exactions, and spilt more innocent blood than all of the Norman

Sir Walter Raleigh.

Norman Kings before him?

If the premisses are evident truths, as they cannot be denyed; why then should they be concealed, and wrapt up from the fight of the world? being so pertinent to be left as Looking glasses for their Successours to behold the deformed faces of their Ancestors, so fit to be made known to the deluded number of the people, baffled and befool'd with flam's and Fig-leaves? what injury then or injustice hath the Parliament done to the Nation, in rescuing their Liberties out of the hand of a King, which nothing would content, but their Invassalage? what have they done more in cutting off him with his Posterity (to whom he had entayled his designes) than necessity hath inforc'd them to do, in preservation of the Nation from that inevitable inthralldome, which eminently was like, and would have befallen the univerfall people, had they not taken away the Effects by the Cause, and by that Law of Necessity, to which all others are subservient? And have they done more

more than the Romans of old have left in president, in the case of Tarquinius, and the expulsion of his Posterity for lesse Tyranny, and to change the Kingly Government into a Republick. when as this most willfull Prince stood so constantly fix'd to his depraved Principles, that no perswasions of a Court of Parliament, no reason but his will could prevaile, or content him, but to be the absolute Master of such an immensity of power, as that at his own time and pleasure might enable him, not only to destroy himself, but to overpower the whole Kingdom, which to his uttermost he endeavoured, and to wade all over in blood to the accomplishment, as tis most manifest by all his actions, and the sequell of his owne story? And have not the SCOTS on the same Reasons of State, in divers presidents, acted the like on their Kings, when they found them perverse and intractable to any reason, as tis manifest in the fatall examples of Dardanus their 20. King from Fergus, in Romacus their 36 King, and on Alpinus

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pinus their 68 King, all three of them beheaded for their Cruelties and Tyrannies; besides twenty more of their Kings, either put to death or depofed for their exorbitant Governments? and hath the Parliament in this necessitated change of the late Kingly domination into a Common-wealth done more than the Hollanders were compell'd to attempt, and happily accomplisht in the very like case, when as on their many (though fruitlesse, Petitions to Philip the second of the invading of their ancient Immunities, and flaughtering of 100000 of the Natives by Don Alvares de Toledo, and others of his Vice-Royes, and themselves utterly deprived of all hopes of redresse of their grievances, but only to make head against his Tyranny? This question I take the liberty to move to the most rigid Royalist; by what right, equity, or Law of God or man, is any Nation in the World bound up to such a blind and unnaturall obedience, as to be deprived of self-defence, and to sit still without seeking their own prefer-

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servations, whilst an irregular King shall either cut their throats, inslave, or denude them of their Freedomes. when as both Scripture and the Law of Nature and Nations allows it them? and that Royalists themselves, and the most learned Jurists maintain and concur in one joynt opinion, that Subjects in such cases, both by Gods Law and that of Nature, may defend themselves, contra immanem savitiem, against barbarous hostility, as * Farctay confesfeth, & * Hugo Grotius avoucheth it for Law, si Rex hostili animo in totius populi exitium feratur, amittit Regnum, If a King in a hostile way shall attempt to destroy his people, he loseth his Kingdome, and this stands with infallible reason; but leaving this Argument as that which already is in the way of decision by the sword, which when we have all said what can be alleged, is the best title of all Kings and Commonwealths, and the same on which all or most of the Kings in the world have founded their powers and Soveraignties; What a strange passion then and

* Barclay
adver Monarche lib
3 cap. 8.

* Grotius
de jure
belli &
pacis, lib.
1. cap. 4.

and madnesse possesses his surviving party, which during the life time and height of their masters power could not with all their united forces, their many plots and continued practices. prevaile against the Parliament, or enable him to attaine to any peece of his ends, whose boundlesse ambition, lead him (as we may safely beleeve) to fight as well against Heaven as his own Subjects, and saw it not, or would not, but pursued his designs so long as any power or hopes prompted him to beleeve, that happily in the end he might be the Conquerour, but missing of all his aims, and himself in another world, that there should still remain so many of his defeated partizans, which out of an old and inbred malice have found out a way (as they vainly conceive) how to be revenged on their Conquerors, (is the wonder of the times) by presenting his Book, with his picture praying in the Frontispiece, purposely to catch and amuse the people, magnifying all his misdeeds for pious actions, canonizing him

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him for a Saint, and idolizing his memory for an innocent Martyr, an imposture without other parallell than that of Mahmet; considerations which for the generall fatisfaction, and for the better discovery of the truth of all affairs between the King and Parliament, have principally induced me to take (in brief) the true dimensions of this Sainted King and innocent Martyr, and to pull off that false vizzard wherewith his juggling partie hath deckt his Effigies, and presented him to the publick view, for the most pious Prince of this age, that so the people may behold him in his native complexon; true it is some other important reasons have moved me to undertake this task, as having feen the many poor, easie, and beleeving people of this Nation, too long missead, and cosened out of their understanding by his usuall protestations, which God willing shall be made evidently cleer by the Kings own hand writing, and by the self same artifices wherewith he had so often deluded and prevailed on the

the belief of too many of his own party pretending to knowledge above the ordinary rank of the vulgar, other reafons have moved me hereunto, as for satisfaction of some obstinate Royalists to whom I have wisht well, and with whom I have had severall disputes on such particular subjects, as may be seene in the subsequent reply; ranckt betweene the breviary of the Kings reign, and the observations on severall of his own Letters and Expresses; and lastly to confute a new sprung up scandall most ungratefully and maliciously raised against the Parliament; viz. That the present change of the Government both Civill and Ecclesiastical, the cutting off the King and his Posterity, were Plots and Contrivances of a longer date and standing than this Parliament, though pursued and accomplished by a party yet sitting Westminster: this being the scope and method of the whole, I have thought it not impertinent in preparation thereunto here to adjoyn some thing of the place of his birth, and man-

manner of his breeding; That he was born in Scotland, 1600. and remained there untill the second year of his Fathers reigne, needs no further attestation; That on the ceasing of the sicknesse 1602. at London (for its ominously remarkable, that two most furious plagues immediately followed the very ingresse both of the Father and the Son to their Crowns) under the stile and title of Duke of Yorke, he was conveyed from Edenborough to St. James's known to many yet living; That during his Infancy, then fitter for the overlight of the female sex, than the masculine, there was such an innated, incorrigible, obduracy, and inflexibility in his nature, that his Nurses and those Gentlewomen that attended him could very rarely devise how to please him, much lesse to reclaim that intemperature of his naturall constitution; which as the Gentlewomen themselves have both often related and protested, so are there yet enough alive which will justifie it as a known truth, and of which his mother Queen Anne would often * a 2

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often complain, usually calling him her perverse and obstinate Son, and his Brother Prince HENRY, not without a propheticall judgement to befall the Kingdome, in case on King James his Father and his own decease the Crown should descend on him; God knows and I call him to witnesse that I shall not willingly present a syllable to the prejudice of his memory, otherwise then for truths sake (abused) and the generall satisfaction of such as would be rightly informed thereof, having never had any cause given me to write more or less than becomes me in fincerity, confessing that considering the distance I stood in to be a pertaker of his secrets, as having been only a poor servant of his Fathers, untill weary of the Court I retired, having seen enough of the vanity thereof, and of both raigns, though on some urgent occasions, in my Addresses to him, I have had the honour of his gracious afpect; and sometimes good words from his own mouth, never any other injury, than in my particular sufferings, involved

volved in the generall calamity proceeding from the late fatall warre, of which I cannot in justice excuse him whose ambition and wilfulness to rule alone, and without controule of any others than hers, which had too long and imperioufly overruled him, which the following Animadversions will more amply manifest; Having thus made my Apology, that neither any particular spleen or quarrell to his person hath incensed me to write, as in justice I ought; I come to his education as he arrived to riper years, under the tutorship of Bishops, and men of that Garbe (known to many who they were) how he was seasoned both in Learning and Religion: Its most certain that he attained to some competent measure of literature (for a Prince) and as I have some reason to beleeve suckt in with the most of the Episcopall leven, but as to the Religion wherewith afterward he was seasoned, I am confident he was more beholding to his honest Secretary Mr. Murrey, than to any other of his Prelati-* a 3

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laticall Tutors, though he after pro-ved (at best) a mere formall Protestant; an enemy to the Puritan party. and a friend to Bishops, as proceeding from the instructions of his own Father, and the influence of his Prelaticall tetinue; Its a known truth, that in the midst of that long, fruitlesse, and restlesse pursute of the old Kings for a marriage with the Infanta, Secretary
Murrey who had then the chiefest influence on his Counsells, had privatly diswaded him from any further thought thereof, as a Match which weuld neither be well pleasing to God, acceptable to the generality of the people, or propitious to the Kingdom, in respect of the disparity of their religions, which so much wrought upon him, what by the Secretaries owne perswasions, and the reading unto him of Mr. De Molins Tractate on the 17 of Deutronomy, De Ikegitimes Marages, that he was altogether averted to marry in any papisticall family; infomuch as the old King making diligent inquiry by whose infusions he was so much

much alienated from the Spanish Match, it was at last found out to be Mr. Murreys workemanship, which cost the honest man the losse of his place, and expulsion the Court: Howsoever the King out of his festlesse desire to match his Son in the House of Austria soone turn'd his affection, and fends him in perfor attended with the Duke of Buckingbam, privately by the way of France, to Madrid; where after an expencefull voyage, and to no other purpose but to his own dishonour, and dilgrace to the Prince (after six moneths stay in Spain) he returned to London, the 5 of October following his going from hence, and about 5 moneths after his arrivall the old King dyed at Theobalds, and the Crown descended upon him, which anon we shall see how he managed it: That he had then so much applause and love of the people in generall, even to a kind of veneration, in the hopes that all men conceived of his future Government is known to thousands yet living, and that no Prince * a 4 fooner

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sooner lost it, is also not unknown, most men wondering how fo fuddenly not only the affections of the people were withdrawn from him, but to fall into the generall obloquy, was held by the wisest a kind of Riddle, not suspecting and indeed then not knowing, or not observing the reasons thereof to have arisen from his then present steerage of the Helm, by the only Compasse of the old Kings delineation, whereof more hereafter will appear in his carriage at his first Oxford Parliament; where I must give this caution to the Reader, not to value that late impartiall and flattering Author, Autieus Coquinaria, neither to give over much credit to King lames his Court, who in some particulars speakes much more of truth than the other babler, who with no colour at all of fincerity and knowledge of those times talks at randome, palpably and ridiculously rendring King lames for the only Platonicall, Politick, Peaceable and pious King of his time, a Prince as he would have it beleeved, the Paragon for his wifdome

wildome and care, the fruits whereof no rationall man could ever yet difcerne, when the plain truth was, and the right measure of his peaceable reigne was well known to all Europe, to be the onely occasion of all the after Wars throughout Germany, and the root of all those of his Successors throughout his Dominions, those in Germany, to the utter undoing of his Son in Law the Count Palatyne, and all those Princes which assisted him in the Cause of Bohemia, whilst himfelf refused, or durst not draw his Sword, through meer fear of offending the SPANIAR Din the least punctilio, but fate musing at home how to improve his Soveraignty, to devise projects how to raise moneyes to fatiate his needy and greedy Scotch Courtiers, by privy seals, benevolences, sale of Forrest lands, asserts, woods, and Crowne Lands, and to pick quarrels with his Parliaments, and to entaile them to his heirs Generall; his successor proving no ill scholler in putting in practice his Fathers precepts, and for

for the better invading of the libertyes of the Subjects; to suppresse Parliaments, which never offended him, but in refusing to supply his prodigalities, when himselfe had wasted, treble the treasure in an idle Peace, than his predecessor the Queen spent in a continued and furious War, with the greatest Prince of Christendome, and yet to leave him the richest King of the Westerne World, which if the plain truth of the affairs of those times may without offence be made manifest, were the only frutes of his fo much magnified and peaceable raigne, for I may in fincerity fay it over and over againe, and no other than a knowne truth, that the not drawing of his Sword, in the Count Palatines quarrell, to which he was so often importuned, by most of the Germaine Princes, invited, year prest by his own Councell of State, yet would he not, but hindered in what possibly he could, those that would and did, to their utter undoing by his many expencefull, and fruitlesse Embasseys, and to the greatning of the Austrian

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Austrian Familie, which had long befoold and baffled him even to the derision and scorne of all the Princes of Europe; as to his Justice of which the Court Cook tattels, the whole Kingdom can witnesse, how he measured it out, by suffering the rigor and uttermost penalty of the Law, to fall on the accessaries in Sir Tho. Overbuties case, and to take the Principalls into his mercy, tis true (not Somerset into his former favour) yet sure we are to stop his mouth from telling of tales, he gave him at once in pure gift fo much of the Crowne Lands, as were well worth to be fold 100000 pounds, though it melted away like wax in the Sun, and himselse to dye a stark begger, and in infamy, and as to that his most excellent chast Lady, and Virgin Bride, let the ghosts of Sir lames Stuart, Sir George W barton, and Prince Henry speak; and not him, this is most manifest, that by divine justice, she was knowne to dye living, and of fo loathsome a disease, that her own Gentlewomen, have often protested it be-

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before many credible witnesses, they could not indure the Chamber where The lay, neither scarce the next adjacent for the horrible stinke that a long time before she expired, issued from her carcase, and polluted the ayre; I could speak much more of the cariage of that foule businesse, and of others. not pertinent to this place, and so can many more persons of honour yet alive, which will tell the tatler to his face that which he hath either with impudence or out of ignorance published, are both false and abominable adulatious, both in reference to the old King, Somerfet, and his Lady, and others of that tribe, Sir Walter Rawly, the Archbishop Abbot, and that of the records, on which he would build the fabrick of his untruths, were known forgeryes of their owne making; and as to the Archbishops particular, he comes not near the truth, that honest man alone, as it is well knowne, withstood the King alone and the other Bishops, in their base complyance in that nullity; insomuch that the King took upon him

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to convince the faid Archbishop in a Thomas, yet to be seene, passages, which as it seems, the talking tatler knew not, neither little of truth, which he assumes to relate, and howfoever he hath farc't up a Pamphlet, as to the matter (happily his own or not) yet in good manners he might have forborne, to make use of another mans phrase, which in divers places of his relation it appears he hath stolen. out of the Fragmenta Regalia, though varied to the worfe, & by him as much vitiated, as by the printer. But I now both leave him and his theaft, untill I may have the happiness to hear further from him, then doubtlesse I shall not faile to give him a fuller answer; in the meantime I shall advise him to remember, that he which justifieth the wicked, and condemnet b the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord, a text that will become both of us, to take into our serious consideration, and as I have good reason to believe, best of the two besits himselfe

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to look to, who takes upon him with fuch palpable flattery to present King James for such a Saint-like Prince, when as had he either knowne a peece of his life and conversation, or the least of his secrets and Counsels (as of those I well know him not to be guilty) surely he would have been ashamed so to have written of a King, who left behind so little evidence of piety, true Religion, temperance, and care of the Subjects welfare, and so much of the structure of absolute Monarchy to his successor, a study to which he had wholy devoted himselfe, and left it to his Sonne as an infelicious legacy, and three Kingdoms destruction, which were without all question, the fruits and effects of his pe ceable reigne. But briefly now to his only Sonne, and the heire of his fathers unhappy peace, and the profecutor of his owne, his posterities, and the Kingdomes ruine.

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REIGNE

KING CHARLS,
Or the pseudo-Martyr discovered, &c.

Prince of Wales, began his unfortunate
Reigne on the expiration of his Father King

lames at Theohalds the
27 of March 1627.

At his very first entry to the Crowne, and after the consummation of the ceremonies of his Inauguration, and the reception of the Queen from France, he P.B. 51. was

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was (as his Father before him at hi accession) driven away from the Metropolis of the Kingdom (London) by the increase and rage of the Pestilence, as an ill omen both to the Father and the Sonne, but of a more ominous por-

tent to the three Kingdoms.

A Parliament at that time was fummoned, and sitting at Westminster, but hastily adjourned to Oxford, on the former reason of the increase of the Sicknesse, and a War likewise was then in preparation, and in delign for Spayn, as an ill presage of the after improsperity in all others which this unfortunate Prince undertook; for what in this kinde was ever enterprised by him, was both inauspicious and fatall, losse of Honour to himselfe, reputation and destruction to the Englis Nation.

During the Parliament at Oxford, the King by his Speaker, the Lord Keeper Williams, moved the Affembly for a present supply of moneys in relation to the intended War, the Parliament in reply to the Kings desires, as they were to be Contributors to the

War,

War, so they humbly moved to be made partakers of the design; this so reasonable a motion was very ill taken, yea scorned by the King, for it even then evidently appeared, that he meant to rule alone, and at will and pleasure. Hence we may observe the first distaste, or rather indeed a pickt quarrel against his first Parliament, which shews out unto us, on how small, or no cause at all, he would be quarrelsome with his Great Councels, and what he would be to all other Parliaments. And the more to shew the regret he took at this motion, he commands Glanvile a Lawyer, a Gentleman of choice education and elocution, then a Member of that House, to attend the Fleet at Plymouth, (as he then said, to let him understand what he so much defired to know, as to the defign) and upon this miffe abruptly breaks up the Assembly without their assistance, which on all honourable and fitting terms was not denyed him.

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The Crown at this time was exceedingly indigent, and indeed so begarly and indebted, that the Royall

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Revenues suffised not to defray the Court expences; yet so high and haughty was the Kings heart, that rather than to be beholding to the Parliament, he was resolved to run any hazard that might befall him, and in the midst of this extreme necessity, sends Sir Sackvil Crow with the Crown jewels (a Gentleman of high esteem with the Duke of Buckingham) to pawn them

in the Low-Countreys.

Wise men might then well beleeve, that the King could not possibly be so wanting to himself, or so poor in treasure, as to be put on so dishonourable a streight, when as with a good word or two in compliance with the Parliament, he might have had before what in reason he would have desired, and that at that instant the major part of the Queens Dowry was received; but the truth was, it was as foon spent as taken, in the gayety of the English Lords, attendants then on the new Queen at Paris; where especially the Duke, amongst others, out vyed all the French Lords in the sumptuousnesse of his expences, and bravery of his apparrell; fo

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so that how rich soever the Queen and her attendants were then in their Wardrobes, sure it is, they came home poor enough in purse to the English Court.

The Queens French attendants and dependants of both sexes being numerous, were doubtlesse far too many to be maintained with any ordinary expence: She was then not only (in comparison) a meer child, but childish in her carriage, and A la Francoise, petulant in her comportment; the King was then no more but her Tutor, she his Pupil, what after they both were in relation to each other, and how those offices were inverted, time and a little patience will shew, but most certain it is, that Madam Nurse (like an other Philippina the Cajetan to Joan Queen of Naples) was both her Oracle and Governess, her only attendants, (or better may it be faid) her many nasty French appurtenances were more in number than ever were known to follow such an Emperours Governesse (for so she then was to the Queen) and fuch vermin they were as that

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the English Ladies (but in respect to the Queen) held them to be little better then as Scullions for the Kitchin; yet were these the Locusts which then and a long time after devoured all in the English Court, which was at that time with much adoe prodigally maintained at Salishury, whilst the King and the Lords of his Councell were all to seek how to defray his own expences, and the wantonness of a Court, promiscuously pestered, both with domestick, forrein, idle, and useless numbers of both sexes.

I was then in that Progresse, and usually in the Court, and a sad witnesse
into what streights the King was reduced, and were it not within the remembrance of many yet alive, the relation might seem strange, what in so
new and greene a Reigne was both attempted, and with boldnesse put in
execution: The prodigality of the
Court then so much out-went the Royal Revenues, that the Kings Officers
and Purveyors had not wherewithall
to defray the expence of the King and
Queens Tables. The King, to begin the
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sirst President of his arbitrary Governmen, sends for the Farmers of the Customes, and gaines what possibly he could from them, which by reason of the sicknesse, and damp of Trade at London, would then have put backe their contract upon him, however money he had, and would have it of them; but that served not the turn, some other course must be taken for present supply of the Kings wants; Sir James Ley then newly made Earl of Marlborow was then Lord Treasurer, VVeston and Cottington, (all new men and of very small beginings) were the men shortly after under the Duke, which principally then and after managed the Kings Treasury, and were those which he had chosen and picked out as fit Ministers to be employed in his after arbitrary designes, yet I am confident none of them all durst advise him for any thing which they found not suitable to his inclination. The Kings next project then was, how he might raise present moneys (for from London he could not expect farther supplyes, the Merchants and the ablest Citizens being B4

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being fled the City, by reason of the rage of the Pestilence) whereupon he resolved to take it where he could find it, the City of Salisbury a place of small circuit, and of less trade, was first prest with a loan of 1000 l. the City of Bristol(as I remember) with 3000 l. which was (by some Aldermen of that City fent to the Court in excuse of their then present disabilityes) denied, but that served not their turns, for they were presently laid by the heels, untill the said sum was sent unto him; this President being a caveat sufficient to all other of the Western Cities and Towns to fend in what sums were skonced on them; neither would this ferve the Kings indigency, but he borrowed of all the principall Gentlemen of the West, which were known or conceived to be monyed men: it is most evident that even then, and at his first accesse to the Crowne he stood not on terms of love or hatred of his people; for what he intended, it appeared plainly he would do, and what he acted he held it sufficiently legall, as a piece of his birth-right, and of right belongd

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nging ing to him as a King, without looking into the nature of the English Soveraignty, his will was the law he intended to rule by; as to Parliaments, his meaning as it appears was the same with Lemes the eleventh of France, and in imitation of him to take them down together with their power, as he had opportunity; notwithstanding some few he called, more for the supply of his present necessity, than the good he intended to the publick, and in the future as time should enable him to be his own carver of his Subjects estates and fortunes, as that shortly after followed.

We have thus laid down in sincerity the beginnings of this unhappy Reign. Now this pestilentiall Summer being well spent, upon the approach of the Winter, and decrease of the Sicknesse, the King, and the young Queen, with all her French train, drawes nearer to the City of London, and being still in his wonted predicament of want, in supply of the Court expences, be pursues the game he was resolved to play, for raising of Treasure (without confent

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sent of Parliament) by arbitrary projects, whereof amongst many which followed, he begins with that of Knighthood, and calls to account (under colour of an old obsolete Law) all such Gentlemen and others, within the limitation of that Statute, as attended not his Coronation, though by his own Proclamation, he had before forbidden their attendance.

Shortly after comes in to his service Sir Thomas VV entworth, who to shew what he would be, and how serviceable to the Kings designes he might be, was imployed into the North, where he rigorously levyed a very considerable fumme on the Gentlemen and Yeomen of those parts: VVeston (another of these Arbitrary beagles) as an overseer to the Earle of Pembroke, and other Commissioners, was imployed into the West; the treasure which was by this lawlesse project raised being come together, was a very vast sum, but it was as soon issued as levyed, and served not to defray the moity of the Court expences; insomuch as being still necessitated, very shortly there11

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thereupon another Parliament was thought fit to be summoned, this was no sooner assembled, but the House of Commons on the tenth of May, 1626. Charged the Duke of Buckingham with the late Kings death, and sent up their Charge to the Lords; the King being well acquainted therewith, comes into the Peers House, and tels them, that he could be a witnesse to clear the Duke in evry particular of that charge, and thereupon in terrour to the lower House, by his Warrant under his hand, attacheth and sendeth to prison Sir Dudly Diggs, and Sir John Elliot, as those which had the managery of that affair, notwithstanding the House of Commons having the proofes and examinations in preparation against the Duke, the King to make all fure, and in arrest of farther proceedings against his chief privado, the 15 of lune following in a great rage dissolves that Parliament, and on dif-robing himself, said in a very stern comportment, That it should be the last time he would ever put them on.

And here we may take into observation

vation, the lamentable effects of that innated duritie, that naturall obstinacy and perversnesse of the violent will of this most unhappy Prince, who in affront and despight of the Iustice of a Court of Parliament, would not suffer his own Fathers death to be called to accompt, or any further examination thereof to be taken for clearing the Duke; But Gods Iudgments may not be arested, and it is he, that mauger the teeths of all humane powers, will in his own good time bring to light, and to ludgment, that crying sinne of Blood; and have we not seen this verified', to our amazement? the Duke shortly thereupon to have dyed, by the stab of a knife, with no other words or prayers in his mouth, than Gods wounds I am slaine; and this most unhappy Prince to have ended his dayes at his own Gates, by the axe of Gods just judgment, and as we may say in fear and trembling, to have taken his leave and last farewell of this world with no other acknowledgment of his faults, and of those crying sinnes of bloodshed throughout the three Kingdomes

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domes, but that of a Pharasaicali justifying of himself and his innocency, infisting to his last, without any repentance or sensibilitie of so much innocent blood spilt through his only willfulnesse, but only of one wicked * mans, having throughout the whole course of the late and lamentable contest between him and the Parliament, evermore covered over that stubbornnesse of his naturall inclination those false colours and delusive umbrages, of his Conscience, Constancy, and Reason, as if his Conscience, by divine appointment, had been the Master Conscience of all the Kingdom, and his Reason that ipse dixit, that must overballance and regulate the sense and Iudgment of a Court of Parliament.

And have we not seen those bold and principall instruments of his, whom he imployed in all his arbitrary projects, the Earl of Strafford, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the enslaving of the three Kingdoms, condemned to the block as misleaders of their incorrigible Master, and to have taken their leaves of the world in the same

*The Earl of STRAF-

same pharasaicall way of justifying their innocency, and without so much as one word of the repentant Publican, God be mercifull to me a sinner? and yet all of them, by the seduced Malignant party held still in a kind of veneration, and I know not by what strange delusion, reputed for innocents and martyrs; would they but look upon them as they were the actors and known fomenters of all the miferies we have suffered, yeathe only ingines and instruments whereby to have wound up soveraignty to the highest pitch of Tyranny, and to make their Master instead of a King over Gentlemen and Freemen, a Tyrant over flaves.

But having brought the King and his young Queen neere to the metropolis of the Kingdom, and the sicknesse decreasing, I shall in a short narration describe the after deportment of this most unfortunate prince; Instead of Prayers and humiliations to God for his great mercy, in the miraculous stay of that raging pestilence, whereby 3.4. and 5000 weekly died that summer only

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only in London, the Court notwithstanding was instantly in Iolity, Masques, Dancings, Playes, and Banquets (all in expencefull and sumptuous oftentations) were the frequence and affiduall exercises of the Court: on the one fide (as to devotion) the Queene had her Masse, and Masse-Priests, on the other side the King with his Laodicean luke-warme and fawning Prelates, in a meer formality in shew of Godlinesse, God knowes without the power thereof, and in as neer a complyance one to the other as possibly their different devotion could permit.

And here I must not omit, neither exempt out of the scene that part which the Bishops and Prelates acted in this interlude, Comicall we may call it, as to the beginning thereof, but God knowes tragicall enough in the close.

The Bishops which in the former reigne had for divers reasons of State been admitted to the old Kings privacies, and had special Influence on his Counsells, were likewise transmitted to the favour and indulgency of this

King,

King, but more especially in reference to the Presbytery of Scotland so averse to absolute Soveraignty, so much affected by either King, (A Generation of Vipers which on any terms would have eaten the way to preferment through the entrayls of either Church or State) these were the men (the better to ingratiate themselves into the Kings favour) that spared not to infinuat how dangerous the Puritan party here in England was (as of a fraternity with the Presbyterians of Scotland) & would be (if not timely lookt unto) to the advance of Soveraignty: apprehensions, which as they soon took fire with the father, so as much if not more with the fonne; hence it was that the most active of them were admitted either to his favour or Councel of State, but especially Do-Stor Land the Bishop of London, after Archbishop of Canterbury, a person of a very subtill and winding spirit, proud (as one raised out of the dust) haughty and imperious in his place, and as fit an instrument for the Kings turne as possibly he could chose out of the 26. Prelates. There

There was also about this time (as before is intimated) taken into the Kings favour, or rather brought in by the alurement of preferment, Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the King immediately created a Baron, and (on the decease of Weston the Treasurer) Earl of Strafford, a Gentleman of great parts and patrimony; a Common-wealths-man he had been, and one that formerly in all Parliaments as much thwarted, and withstood the arbitrary power of both Kings, as any one what soever; the King having won this Gentleman to be his owne, bethought himselfe that these two (with fome others of the same stamp) would be sufficient to whom to impart his grand defigns, the one for Church affairs, the other for the State, but both fuitable to the endshe had in hand; the last being of as high, bould, and haughty a spirit as he could possibly have pickt out of all the nobility: Time will shew us, and our own lamentable experience may better demonstrate, how the one in Church affairs, the other in civill administrations, behaved

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haved themselves, to the after prejudice and destruction of the three Kingdoms; But as we have already said in the end to their own ruine and their Masters.

To leave this digression, we have left the King and Queen at the Court, let us returne where we left them in their different devotions; the truth was, how little care soever there was then taken either by the King or his time-serving Prelates, of Gods service and true worship, otherwise than in a formality or shew of Godlinesse, either in the Court or throughout the Kingdom; sure we are, that the Queenes superstitious worship was specially provided for, and a fort of Locusts there were(in addition to her own Chapiins) admitted the Kingdome, styled by the name of Capuchins (but cunning knaves) and for these a new Chappell was erected, with an habitation, and large maintenance allowed them, even in the face of the Court, and eye of the Kingdom; and to please the Queen, Masses and Masse Priests were frequently permitted throughout the Land, not

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not only in a tacite connivence, but in an open way of tolleration, and in con-

tempt of Gods true worship.

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We may well admit, that the wayes which the King then took could not be welpleasing to him, which was never yet pleased with an Idolatrous, mixt, and halfe-fac'd worship; or that the gayety and wantonnesse of a promiscuous Court, could be maintained without an excessive charge; neither that a perfidious shew and offer of a warre with France in the defence of the French Protestants, would in the conclusion be well thought of either from abroad or at home, when the King during the treaty of the marriage with the Queen, on the earnest request of the princes of the Religion, had engaged himself to protect them, and to raise the siedge then before the Town of Richell, neither that feigned preparation which the King made by sea in their assistance will in time come to light, when evident it was afterwards to all the World, that in stead of detending them, they were not onely flaughtered at Sea by the Kings shipping

ping, but by plain Treachery both their Cause undone, and their forces defeated by Land; a sinne, which God in his justice could not passe over unpunished, yet carryed on in such a mysticall way; & in that attempt on the Isle of Rea, to the losse of honour and blood of some of the bravest men of the Nation; infomuch that the World to this very day hath been held in suspence, to what Religi-on the King himself stood most inclyned for whether the Father or the Son, which with such ardency sought the Alliance of Spaine and France, (or else no where) Families, if not incestous, yet of Idolatrous and Supersticious Religions, which hath left the world in another amaze, and in a puzzle to find out others inclination, or whether to any Religion devoted, if it be rightly considered, as either Prince made and continued their fecret addresses to the Apostolick see, and that his Holinesse in both reigns had his Agents and Nuntioes here resident (reciprocally and in interchange of the Kings Agents at Rome) many clanclandestine conferences both with the King and Queene, and the state of the Protestant Religion here, (howsoever openly profest by both Kings) reduced to the next step of conformity with Rome; when as that fordid and base complyance of the Bishops and Court-Clergy, which if grace (more than hopes of preferment) had prevailed with them might have been a Remora or stay to either King, and to have told them plainly how dangerous it was to their well-being, if they attempted to make Religion the stalkinghorse to their irregular designs, and to bethink themselves that God was not to be deluded, and how unsafe it would be for them Ludere cum far-His; But these were the men who even from the beginning of both reigns, had only studied the inclinations of these Princes, and rather took upon them to comply and incourage them than to have withstood either of them in the least of their many irregularities, & loofness in Religion; & such was the basenesse of these fawning Sycophants, that the common theams of the Court

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Pulpits, throughout both reigns, were purposely pickt out whereon to draw conclusions and doctrines of arbitrary power, which was the usuall ladder most of them clim'd to preferment; whence also we may observe Gods judgments, both to have been shortly after powred out on the persons themselves and their functions, in their extirpation, and totall irradication of them, without hopes of their restauration.

Hitherto we have deduced the History of this unfortunate Prince to the 3d year of his Reign; we shall now runne over the rest with as much brevity as the nature of the subject will permit.

The King at this time was in his wonted condition of want, as his Father before him ever was, so would he be in the same predicament: Two millions of annual Treasure or very neer, could not serve their turns, neither would it content them, though in Scotl. 50000 kper annum was more than ever King James could possibly raise, without the assistance of the Estates assembled. We may

may see the difference, and what oprations change of Clymates can worke upon the nature of Princes comming out of poor Kingdomes into richer, and with what Conscience they could difpence the care of their own fouls, to become as spunges to suck up the fruits of the poor passive people of Englind, gained out of the labour of their hands and sweat of their browes, when they had enough, and more than ever any of the Kings of England did raise, and in retribution of their love and loyalty towards them, as by divers manifestations may be made appeare, with how many flights and wyles, with how much care, trouble and vexation of spirit, with what expence of blood and treasure did this King labor to inslave the English Nation, and to reduce the poor people (as naturalized vassalls) under the bondage of his lawlesse will and lust? Can we make any other Comment on this subject, but that which wife men have long fince observed, that these two Princes never loved the English Nation, but in an odium altissimum, had aforehand designed

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designed to oppresse them, and utterly to extinguish the memory of their an-cient Freedoms? and can we imagine they intended otherwise, by the whole course of their Government? When it appears what favours, what large concessions, and with what complyance and commiseration the late King took care of the Irish Rebells, without the least retrospect how much English bloud had been most barbarously spilt by them (if he were not conscious that no man was more guilty thereof than himself) surely it may well amuse the world, why he should be so pitifull and solicitous to have them spared, and to brand the Parliament with cruelty for pursuing so just a revenge. If we look Northward, and examine what Favours, Privileges, and Countyes were without asking offered to be conferr'd on the Scots, 1641. as he went unto them, on the onely conditions, that they would engage with him a-gainst the English Parliament. On these considerations, can it sink into any rationall mans conception, but that he was an inexorable enemy to the Nation

Nation? kinde to his own (if they would have served his turn) and an indeered Friend to those bloudy Irish, and that on all opportunities his intent was to ruine and invassalate the English Nation, though he and his perished, (as they did) in the attempt.

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But to return to our relation. The King was now in the 15 yeare of his Reign, and notwithstanding the many wayes by which he had raised no small treasure, yet was he still indigent and bare in money, the Court and the French spent it before it came in, and as to any supply by Parliament, it suited neither to the Kings good liking, or his grand designe; the discontinuance of Parliaments conduced more to the advance of what he intended to raise by power, than he could expect by the ayde of Parliament, since he had but even then closed up all ruptures with France and Spain, and no War in being or in expectation, and consequently no ground left him that might presse or induce a Court of Parliament to be over-liberall with the purses of their Electors; yet in this exigent and streight he

he suddenly resolves to call a Parliament, where amongst many passages and debates, Finch the Speaker of the lower house, plaid his first prise, in his assiduall disclosing to the King what soever past in the House; insomuch as being discovered, and on his usuall moving out of his Chair and the House, he was at length withstood at the door by divers bold Gentlemen and Members of the Parliament, and inforced to keep his feat; this miscarriage was instantly made known to the King, who took it as an affront done to his own person, and presently hereupon he not only disfolves the Parliament, but commits to the Tower, Hammond and Hubbard, Knights, Long, Curreton, and some others of the Members: Neither could he be a long time pacified by the Lords of his Councell (on the first hearing of this broil) but needs he would with his guard have then fallen upon them in the house (as a presage of that violence which he offered after to this Assembly in his owne person;) upon the instant of this difsolution of the Parliament, he publisheth

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lisheth a Proclamation, prohibiting the people not to much as to talk of more Parliaments, and injoyn'd the Lords of his Councell, on any conditions not to mention the word Parliament unto him; a lesson which they all for ten years together at least punctually observed; insomuch as all wise men then conjectured, that the Liberties of the Kingdom were then buried together in the interment of all Parliaments. Ten if not more years past between this Parliament, and the dissolution of that qu nto Mail, 1639. during this intervall; the King begins roundly with all forts of pro ects, and to raise mony both without the leaves of the Subjects, and against the known Lawes of the Kingdome; privy Seals and Loans were the first which he put in execution, as a Tax (if we may so call them) that concerned not so much the Subject in generall, as private, reputed moneyed men; other levies had likewife their course in their torns; and in policy not to rush in, and too hastily on the subjects propriety, he falls on the sale of the Crown lands in Feetarm, with

with the old rents, or those doubled, reserved to the Exchequer; neither could all these projects, though amounting to a very valt sum, serve to defray the wastefullnesse of the Court, which indeed as to his own fide, was in some proportion of moderation, yet on the Queens side it was so excessively profuse, that I aver it onknowledge (besides her Joynture) (then newly configned) one hundred thousand pound Per Annum sufficed not for to defray her own expences, and confident I am, what by sales procured by her folicitations, as much more was yearly drayned out of the Kings purse to satisfie that nasty trayn of her French followers; Madam Nurse, as to her own particular, besides an expencefull way of living here, at the Kings charge, was well known to have transported at several times into France 100000 pound, in good gold; and certaine it is, that that Pigmy Mounrebanck (Mountague) the Queens dancing Master, not worth one groat at his coming over, inricht himself to the least value of 40000 pound; it would

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would be wearisome to recount what summes her Priests and Jesuits, Musitians, Fidlers, and others of her retinue got and amaffed by her onely fute to the King, who then denyed her nothing that she desired; for it is most true, that before the attained the age of twenty years, she began of a Pupill to be the Kings Regent, and the afterstory will assure it, she became a fatall participant with him in most of his Counsells, and his directrix in the Government, but after her Mothers arivall both of them to have gained an interest in his inmost secrets and principall transactions of State; an evident truth, and more than stood with the Kings honour, much less than suited with the welfare of the Nation.

These prodigall expences at Court could not choose but impoverish the Kings exchequer, whether very little of the Royall Revenue arrived, as commonly prevented aforehand by assignations to one or other of the Courtiers, hence followed the multiplicity of Monopolies, the ingrossing of all the Pouder into the Kings store,

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and that to be no otherwise vendible but at double rates, to the former and usuall prises; In order to these followed the preemption of all Tobacoes, to the extreme beggering of the adventurers and planters in the West-Indian Islands; Coat and Conduct money had likewise it's turne, and by degrees the Kings Pattents incircuited and extended to Salt, Butter, Sope, Leather, Wine, Sugar, Allum, Seatoale, Malt, Cards and Dice, and what not.

In order to these, that notable project of shipmoney, a device of Finches invention, and shaped for the nonce suitable to the Kings designs, it extenden to fuch a latitude, as that by this one illegall power he might rayse moneys in what proportion he would, where and when he pleased, without Parliaments, and so was it stated by the terrour which that fluttering bird Finch imprest on the Iudges to declare it legall, by their extrajudiciall sentences, though (for their honour be it spoken) three of them as Crook, Hutton, and Denham withstood it as a most il legall and

and unheard-of taxation against and destructive to the fundamentall Lawes of the Land, and Liberties of the Peo-

ple.

We shall now passe it over, though it was an invention which of it selfe would require a story not unworthy to be left to posterity; how ever, as long as it was on foot the King made use of it to the purpose, and in two is not three yeares whilest it was put in practice, raised not so little at 1000000

of poundes.

It is without question that what by monopolies, the inhancing of the Customes and Rate Books, Knighthood money, and projects of this nature, as the Fines in the Star-Chamber, High Commission, and depopulations, with the sale of the Crowne Lands, besides Subsidies, and the Royall standing Revenue, with divers other incomes most oppressive to the people, the King within the space of ten or twelve years raised more Treafure than any two of his Predecessors in fourty years, and yet none of our Kings had lesse occasion, and this

this King more wanting, as having for twelve years together no warres confiderable, neither any in expectation, more than such as wilfully and most unjustly he undertook about the 15th year of his reign against the Scats, and that to no other end, but to advance his grand designe of invassalating the 3. Kingdomes, as hereafter more evidently may be made to appear.

The King having thus far waded into the depth of his arbitrary strains, to the great regret of the people, and having for ten or twelve years together laid aside all thoughts of making use of Parliament, which might controule so many of hi illegall and irregular exactions, in farther advance of his grand designe, both to rule, and raise money at will and pleasure. having by so long a tract of time taught the people to forget Parliaments, or not to hope for them, and as he conceived, well to have forwarded his greater work by the experience he had made of the passivenesse both of his English and with Subjects, by the activity of his chief Instruments, Strafford, (anterbury.

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terbury, and Cottington, which principally then carried on the design in either Kingdom, both in the Church and State, which by time and degrees had so amated the spirits of the people, as they seemed patiently to bear (though unwillingly, and not without some publike murmuration) what loads might, in the future be laid upon them, but evermore (in the midit of their relentments) to cast the odium of their oppressions rather on the Kings ministers than on himself, with the retention of a reverent esteem towards him, as the least author of their sufferings, when as himself alone was principall, which invited him with the more boldnesse, and lesse fear, to the perfecting and speedy accomplishment of his mayn designe.

We may in the way of our relation avouch it, and that for truth, that both the Father and the Sonne were the most carelesse Courtiers of their people of any of our Kings, and as regardlesse of the love and reverent esteem the universall Nation carried towards them; an inexcusable error, and

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shewes out unto us what in probability were and would be the issues of their Ingratitude. We all know, that po-pularity in private persons, and the applause of the people, are the ingredients of suspition, and an errour which al wise and cunning Statists shun and avoid, as tending to obscure the worth and dignity of their Master, but sin Princes it is a Vertue, that most of all other their deportments takes most and soonest in the peoples affections; we may boldly say it, that neither of these two Princes were ever guilty of that attractive Vertue, onely it hath beene since observed, that at his comming out of Scotl. 1641. he was very prodigall in putting off his hat, as he past the streets.

But omitting Paraphrases, we have but even now said it, that as to the Queens side in Court it was excessively profuse, the Kings more moderate; yet not so frugall, but that there were a sort about his person to whom he participated his secrets, and committed the managery of his arbitrary worke, which did sufficiently lick their stagers: We shall omit the Duke, for he died within two years of the Kings

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accesse, Digby and Cottington, which in the former reign had laid the foundations of their after greatnesse; but they which in this reign, (and in the midst of the Kings necessities) spent lavishly, lived at high rates, and amassed most, were VVeston the Treasurer Manchester, Strafford, Goring, and the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, neither did the farmers of the Customs go away empty handed, yet we may fee, that as all or most of these had a time of getting and filching from the Crown, so likewise did their Master in the end administer a sad occasion to rid most of them of their ill-gotten gains.

Having thus brought the King to the 15th, year of his most unhappy reign, and shewed out by what means, wayes and instruments he raised monyes to supply his necessities, and prodigallities of the Court; what hitherto he acted, was in calme and peaceable times, though not without murmuration; We shall anon come to the hostile, that satall and sanguinary part of his unfortunate reigne. He had hitherto led on his designe in a fore-game, yet still

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in his wonted way of want, the Queenmother arriving, holp on his expences, Strafford the Archbishop, and Cotington, as the Kings prime agents had fitted all necessaries in a readinesse; both the English and Irish patient in what formerly they had suffered, and ready to be ridden and spur'd to the quick; the mode of the French Goverment being stil in the eye of the Kings design (as left unto him by his Fathers legacy) and now again revived and quickned by the Queen Mothers instigation, a Lady fatall to all places wheresoever the resided; Strafford having raised in Ireland an Army of Papists, to helpe on, and at a deah lift: and about this time there were divers Commissions issued out to certain Lords and Gentlemen, with power to impose new and unheard of Imposts on all the commodities of the Land, and in addition to these, Commissions were granted to the Earl of Arundell to take the military charge of the Northern parts into his hands, another to the Earle of Worcester to raise an army of Papists in Wales, as it is well known, to master the Well

West marches & to assist the Irib Army landing at Milford as need should require; and the President my Lord of Bridgewater commanded to wave that place for his Majesties speciall service, a person as it seems, that was too honest to be wrought upon: At the same time his Lordship Cottington was likewise made Lord Warden of the Tower, with authority to take in Souldiers, and to fortifie that piece, which accordingly was put in execution, and the White-Tower planted with many great Ordnance, with their mouths forced against the City, to the great amazement of the Citizens and the whole Kingdom-What the King meant or intended by these irregular and prodigious acts of his, let the most willfull Malignant make his own judgement, when as the whole Kingdom was never in a greater calme of peace, loyalty and quietnesse, or in any appearance of infurrection. The Excise at that instant was likewise in agitation, and the very same house, wherein now that office is erected in Broadstreet taken by Cottington to the same purpose, and Strafford much about

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about that time dispatcht into Ireland, there to call a Parliament for affistance in relation to the intended Scotch War. where he musters a new the Irish army. gets four Subsidies, & presently returns for Engl. where a Parl for the same end was likewise summoned; not any thing now stood as Remora, in the way of the Kings great designe, but those refractory Scots, this was the block that in the first place must be removed; to begin this work of darknesse, first fomented by the Bishops, especially Cauter. bury here, and that pragmattick Prelat of Scotland, Maxwell; with Hamilton and Traquair on the by. These two assisted by Strafford, had the whole managery of that affair.

We must not too much insist on every particular, this Scotch work alone requiring a volume to derive it from its first fountain and originall, as a project of the old Kings, to introduce the Episcopal power and Church Government there conformable to that of England, and to suppresse or master that of the Kirk & Presbyterian power, as the only obstruction to absolute Soveraignty.

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Gods providence and his wayes are insearchable, and the carriage of this work of darknesse is very remarkeable, it hath left the world in a maze how the Kings designs by this Scotch enterprize should turne and overthrow the whole frame and fabrick of all his former projections, and of so faire a fore-game, so to bring it about, as on the very nick of the accomplishment, to lose both it, his reputation and life, and at a time when all wife men had given the freedoms of the English nation utterly lost, and meerly by the wilfulnesse of his own irregular motions, more beloved, reverenced and obeyed, than any of his Predecessors.

The state of the three Kingdomes, as abovesaid, but a little before this Scotch enterprise (as to a any Warre from abroad, mutinies and insurrections at home) was well known to be in as great a calme of Peace and quietnesses in any reign since the Conquest, the subject passive, loyali and obedient to the Kings will and pleasure, himself at peace and amity with

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all his Allyes, Confederates, and Neighbour-Princes; nothing could be Imagined to have troubled him but his own ambition, and those restlesse appetites of his which would not suffer him to enjoy content in the mid'st of prosperity, and to rest satisfied in the fruition of more abundance than ever any King of England attain'd unto; In this requiern (could he have seen it) was his soule restlesse, and as we may of truth say, by no instigation more troubled than by hers which had the honour of his Bed; an unhappy unquietnesse which his principall privadoes rather added fewell to the fire thereof than water to quench it; they had studied his inclination, which was the rule they walkt by, not how to apply wholfome medicines to cure the raging malady of his ambition, which by none was more cherish'd than by the Bishops and his formal clergy, in the way wherein his will and lust had predominance over his reason, such as had not only taken the same fiery infection, but as much laboured therein, as himself, whose sunction and office (if grace

had guided them) it properly was rather to have applyed antidotes than venome to their Masters disease, and to have told him plainly where the sault

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Eut to returne to the relation of this Scotch enterprise; the King as before is intimated, through meer necessity was induced to call a Parliament (not to reforme abuses crept into the Common-wealth (better it may be faid violently introduced through his ill Government and discontinuance of Parliaments, the ancient remedies of publick grievances) but to supply his own wants in reference to the war intended; the kings wants being more pressing than ever, the servauts of his own side in Court, a good space before debard of th ir Wages, purposely to scrape up moneys towards this needlesse Warre; the Queens Servants on the other side were notwithstanding exactly paid.

It would be superfluous and impertinent to describe the whole story of this designe, so obvious and generally knowne to all the Kingdom; how sirst this affair was carryed on by sen-

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ding a new Litturgy to EDINBURGH, as an experiment how the Scots would swallow the first bayt to their inthraidome; how there the Litturgy was resented, and with what after disgusts it was not only refused but detested, How that Traquire and Hamilion one after the other were Commissioned with power& instructions to inforce their conformity; what Flames, Invectives, and Comments flew here abroad of the Bishops penning of their Rebellion; how againe the Scots stood upon their punctillioes, in defence of themselves and their Covenant against this innovation; how many Petitions and Messages past between them and the King; how at last on dispute between their Commissioners and his Majesties, at their first Treaty in the North, and the aversnesse of the Kings souldiers to imbrace the quarrel, the King granted them his royall Pascification, and fent them home well fatisfied; how againe on his Majesties returne, his act of Pascification was here in Court resented, by the Queen and the Bishops, and with what Lan-

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guage the King was affronted to have brought home a dishonourable Peace, and obstructive to his own designes; how then this needlesse and willfull quarrell was revived, and the Kings Pacification vilified and burnt by the hands of the common Hangman, and the King easily brought on anew to muster a second Army, to subdue those stubborn and rebellious Scots, as generally then, especially by the Bishops they were stiled: when as by the Freequarter of his first Army, most parts of the County of York were beggered and the Soldiery unpaid, how the Parliament and generally the people abhor'd this war, and refused to contribute towards it, how thereupon quieto Maij 1649. it was suddenly dissolved, how on the very same day the Cabinet Councell sate in close consultation at white-Hall how to raise moneys to defray the charge of this second war, how that Paper (the results of that Councell) after (stiled, The Juncto) came to be preserved by the means of Sir Henry Vane the younger, and Mr. Pym, who imparted it the ensuing Parliament, as

the star which guided them to know the authors and projectors of this & other wilfull designes; what preparations the Scots made to defend themselves, and how with a puissant Army they first entred the Kingdom under the Command of Lesley, who made his way by force, with some losse of blood on both sides at Newburn, and after that marched peaceably to Newcastle, which he fortifyed, and from thence sent a Petition in the name of the whole Nation to the King, that their cause might be heard, before more bloud should be drawn, which before was utterly denied them, with contemptuous acerbity, The particulars whereof shall God willing in all fincerity be anon amply declared, together with such discoveries as are not yet publikely known, and fo particularly manifested in many points, as in the following Reply and Animad-versions may appear, both for the generall satisfaction, and such Royalists to whom I have heartily addrest them, as well for their own conversion, as also in vindication and farther manifestation of Truth, and to the everlafting

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:-:s sting honour of this Parliament, whom God hath visibly enabled with courage both to foresee and withstand the violences of a Prince, who in all his Expresses, Protestations, and overtures for Peace and Accommodation with the Parliament, were inseparably accompanyed with dissemblings, fraud, wiles and reservations, may be further manifested by the evident proofs of his Letters under his own hand writing, his Commissions. Missives, and many other authentick Testimonies, though many of them noted, and long fince exposed and set out to the world, and answered in the Parliaments Declarations, especially manifested in that of No more Addresses; yet not so vulgarly seen, as they may be on a more exact veiw, and a diligent perusall, and comparing the Kings publick expresses with his private practifes, as may apparently be seen by any that wil but take the pains either to read them in his own Character, or mine.

Whence ariseth the great wonder of the times, how, and with what face, either the King himselfe living should

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with such boldnesse stand on his justification, or that any fince his death (indued with common sense and reason) can have the Impudence to defend him dead, who living fo willfully, fraudulently, and obstinately persevered in pursuance of his own lustfull and pernitious designes, in invassalating the poor people, which, untill himselfe gave, and profecuted the occasion of their falling from him, and were inforced to withstand his violent courses, was more beloved, honoured, and obeyed than any of our Kings. A Prince that raised and wasted more Treasure, wilfully spilt more Innocent blood, devasted more the lands and habitations of his Subjects, ruined more families, and more imbroyled three flourishing King. doms, than all of his Progenitors; and yet for all these his prodigious cruelties and mildemeanors to be inshrin'd (dead) for a martyr, both alive and dead adored for a Saint.

We shal now close up the first part of our Breviary, as it relates to his reign, & designs before he erected his Standard, the manner & managery of the hostile

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part of his life (though both long fince sufficiently known, and felt by many thousands of the poor innocent people of three Kingdomes, yet for avoiding of repetitions and some other motives) I have taken the leave to insert a short description thereof in the subsequent reply; leaving out the manner of his arraignment by his Judges, all of them to be adjudg'd a new at the great Tribnnall of the King of Kings, whether the one (as his Vice-gerent) hath ruled and judged the people committe d to his protection for their defence, and hath dealt uprightly with them, or not, and whether the others (as ordained by divine providence to do justice on him for his cruelties) have condemned this King for his Tyranny and unrighteous dealing with three nations, to whose justice, in feare and trembling we must all submit.

Where we may with good reason make this Quære, Whether the cutting off of our bloody and blood-thirsty Prince, together with the exclusion of his whole posterity, can be a sufficient expiation in the eye of heaven, for the

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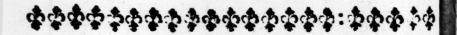
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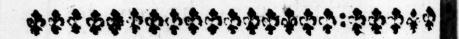
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blood of a million of poor innocent foules flaughtered for the satiating of one Princes suffull will and pleasure, since he that repents not hath said it, that the Land shall not be clensed until the blood of one murtherer be shed, this we may say and safely believe, that Almighty God (for the sins of the Nations) in his wrath and just indignation, sent this most unhappy King (as his rod of judgement) to reign over us, and in his justice hath likewise burnt it, and brought that satall end upon him, and his Fathers house, according to his owne and often Imprecations: We shall conclude this first scene of our Narrative with the Kingdoms sate:

Iratus Dens dedit ijs Regem.



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The Authors reply to an invective Remonstrance against the Parliament and present Government, wherein the whole managery of the late War is exactly described.

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Aving diligently perused the replication you sent me, I perceive that you are no changeling, but one and the self same man in your opinion, both in justifying the late Kings Actions, and in aspersing the Parliament with raysing the late War against him, as a premeditated Plot long since hatch't by a factious party amongst them, and to change the Government, and pull up Monarchy and Episcopacy by the roots; Strange Chimæras indeed, that

dropt lately out of the Clouds and Vapours of your own and your parties gyddy-braines; neither doe you rest there, but you proceed to charge those which now fit at Westminster with many other fowle Calumnies; to all which in their proper place I shall not faile to give you a particular answer; though I could have wisht, that you had fixt your cogitations on some other subject fuitable to trnth, and the ingenuity you pretend unto, and not after ten years revolution of time to fall flat on a meer suggestion of your owne without any other proof than a bare allegation, and that so destitute of possibility, either of thought or intent in the Parliament to effect, as that the affirmation seems to me a meer malicious fiction of your own rather than a fimple verity, and fo unbecoming a Gentleman of your quality, as that in plainnesse I take the boldnesse to tell you, you might on better reason with Copernicus his Disciples, have aver'd another world to be in the Moon, th n to have devised and broached so vaine and senselesse an untruth; But since tis more

more of your will than chance, to fall on so groundlesse a fable and on a theam so old and over-worne; might I have advised, you should have turn'd your tone (which would have been much more for your honour) and aver'd, that the King, even from the very first entrance of his reigne (anz swerable to his Fathers instructions) began his arbitrary worke, and in pursuance thereof had laid sundry destrudive and darke plots, how to invasfalate the three Nations, and by degrees to reduce them all under one Intire, arbitrary and absolute soveraignty; and when they took not the effect he desired, being discovered and opposed by this Parliament, then to fet up his Standard and array the poore people against themselves, which never any King of England durst attempt, otherwise than by publick consent, and against a forraigne enemy, and at last to wage open Warre against his owne subjects, and the representative of the Nation, Plundering, Fyring, and desolating the Kingdom to the utmost of his power; had you avouched thus much E 2

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much, you had hit on the right, and shewed your selfe both a friend to truth and your Country; but it seems you still stand close to your old destructive principles, as at first you sided with the King living, so dead you
persist to make good his cause, whether right or wrong it mattered not
much, with most of your party,
the truth is, how good or bad soever
his cause was, it was the bare name
of a King and hopes of preferment
which drew your Iron into the field,
and tis the very same at present which and tis the very same at present which invites all of you to flatter and footh up your selves with the empty name of Loyalty to bring in the new Crown'd King of Scots on the old score, without looking to the preservation of the Liberty of your Country, and proprieties of your own posterity and the sad consequence thereof, as if the publick interest ought to be given up, for the fulfilling of your desires, and of one mans wilfull peasure, a strange dotage that hath possest you, and more strange it is, that you should now fall a fresh on a subject that loathes any піал

man of ingenuity to think on it, much more to treat on a theam fo stale, were it but in reference to the memory of him who is at rest: But fince I find that a kind of confidence possesses your intellectuals, that all your allegations are unanswerable, and that your provocations amounts to a challenge, the fault must be yours not mine, If in vindication of truth, I lay open the grossnesse of all your errors, in the manifestation of his which with such eagernesse and confidence you think your felfable to defend being forced through your importunity, and the nature of the taske you put upon me, to run over the whole progres and managery of all the late Kings designs, visible and long since very well knowne to all men of common understanding; though I confesse, I do not much marvell that your selfe (amongst the rest of the facill beliefe) have been deceived by the Kings woonted and plaufible protestations, especially as he handled the matter, in the cunning and umbragious carrying on of all his close and hidden designs: for I very E 3

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well know many knowing Gentlemen which have had a long conflict with themselves, what judgment to make on the first difference arising between the King and Parliament, his Majesty so often protesting, how much he intended the welfare of all his subjects, how unwilling to embrew the Kingdom with blood, how willing to embrace and conserve the peace of the Land, how resolved to maintaine the true Protestant Religion, how carefull and studious to uphold the Lawes and Liberties of the People, how ready to preserve inviolable the privileges of Parliaments, and how forward to supply his distressed Protestant Subjects in Ireland; all which (as a Copy of his counterfeit Countenance) he so often protested, and confirmed with Imprecations, that truely the spirits of many wife men were amazed and a long time stood staggering what to be. lieve in the case, and doubtfull whether the Kings cause or the Parliaments was most just, which party gave the first offence, which began the Warre, and of this number I confesse my self to be

be one, which stood sometimes diffident in a controversy so variously attested; but having made a diligent search into all the passages, and transactions between both parties, both from before the Sword was drawn, and after to the year 1645, when the Kings Cabinet Letters were taken at Nafeby, and other manifests elsewhere, I then began to bethink my felf (that which before 1 only admitted in a kind of Ambitious beliefe) that the Parliament had then to deal with a King (howfoever heretofore valued as a Prince of no deep reach) who was not to feek without the help and influence of a malicious Councell) to play his owne part, I shall not say better, but more dextrous and cunningly for his owne ends, and to the reducing of the Kingdomes under his abiolute power, than any of those could direct him, whom he most trusted with the mannagery of his deligns and secrets; truely, Sir, on that discovery (on the publishing of his Letters) let me tell you there were many thousands which fell off, and from the opinion they held of his in-E4

integrity and the Iustice of his Cause, it being in the next degree to a miracle that after so full a disclosure of the Kings juglings and dissemblingsthere should any remaine to take his part, and the wonder is the more remarkeable that fince his death any man should believe him to be a Martyr, but whom God hardens they shall be hardened. let the Charmer Charme never fo wifely some will be deafe and diffident of visible truthes never so clearly manifested, of which number that you should perceveere to make one, as by vour sundry invectives it appears, surely it hath not a little troubled me, to fee the excrescencies of your inveterate malignancy to break out even to obstinacy, and so long to have blinded your judgment, from discerning of truth from falshood, and to have bard you from the right use of distinguishing between reason well weighed, and fraud umbrated and attested, with the usuall artifices of the royall protestations, a faculty (by your favour) too too common with the King and those quaint

quaint pen-men which attended him; with plaufible Declarations, frequently fent abroad, ad faciendum populum, to catch fools, and as the Kings usuall phrase was to undeceive the people, (prepossest with the reality of the Parliaments Remonstrances) when in truth the Kings ends were no other than to decoy the poor credulous Annimalls into an opinion of his good meaning towards them, when he intended them most harme, as we find it evident in the filly devifes and quaint impresses of his money coyned at Oxford, pretending that he took up arms in defence of the Protestant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the People, and the Priviledges of Parliament. when the direct contrary appeared by all his Actions; and when as it was manifest, that before he began to quarrell with the Scots, he tacitely intended, and even then designed to suppress Parliaments, or so to qualify them, that they should be onely usefull to his own ends, not to the people, and likewise to invade the Liberties of the subject, & adulterate the true Protestant Re-

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Religion with the superstitious mix ture of Popery, as it manifestly ap peared by his admittance of a Jesui ticall crew into his own Court, & Cappuchins at Somerset-house with large maintenance, even in the face of the Court, and eye of the Kingdom, with a generall connivence, amounting to a tacite toleration to all Papists, together with idolatrous Masses, both in his own house permitted, andused throughout the Kingdom in most Papists houfes without controule, & in imitation of Solomon, after that by his Wives he was turn'd idolater, to set up the abomination of * Ashteroth, even in the face of Ferusalem: And as to his invading of the Libertyes of the people, with his many other oppressions and irregularities, we all know, and have good cause to remember them.

*#1 Kings
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The Breviary of his Life and unfortunate Reigne, manifestly declares as to his intent of suppressing of Parliaments, and future oppression of the people, the observations I intend to send you, with his own Letters sufficiently demonstrates, & by whose motion and

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and Counsels those exorbitances were first by his own Fathers Instructions pursued, found in his Cabinet at Theobalds immediately after his departure, and whereof one was to quit himself by degrees of all Parliaments, as too bold Co-partners in the Government with their Kings, & to run the future course of his government answerable to that of France; and to verifie this I shall point you to King fames his own Speech in open Parliament, 1609. March 21. Where you may fee what preparations he had provided for his Successor to rule by: parallelling himfelf with God who he faith, Hath pourer to create or destroy, make, or un make at his pleasure, to give life, or send death, to judge all, and to be judged or to be accomptable to none, to raise low things, and to make high things low at pleasure, and to God are both Soul and Body due; the like power, saith this King, have Kings, they make and unmake their Subjects, they have power of raising and casting down, of life and death, ludges over all their Subjects, and in all caues, and jet accomptable to none but God alone

alone, they have power to exalt low things, and abase high things, and to make of their Subjects like men at Chess, a pawn to take a Bishop, or a Knight, and to cry up and down their Subjects, as

they doe their money.

Whence you may observe this Kings Principles, which in the Speech it felfe every where extant you may find, that even this King, whom the world stiled the Platonicall King, and was reputed a pious Prince, took the hint of his tyrannicall principles from a * Bishop, who in the very face and audience of a Court of Parliament, preacht all these fine arbitrary doctrines, and yet in the Speech it self, fol. quarto, you shall find the King defends him: Hence you way perceive by whose counsells the late King steered all the course of his government after his accession to the Crown, with the reason of his seldome calling of Parliaments, and his often dissolving of such as he did call without their due effects. I shall now faithfully relate the whole progresse of the War, and by what female advice he was directed to the reducing of all the

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the three Kingdomes under his absolute power, and for your better satisfaction shall by the way present you with the original cause of his hatred against this Parl. and by what strange means it was fummoned, and at a time when all wife men had given all Parliaments for lost, which although long since, and by many more able pens than mine have been sufficiently manifested to the world, yet for your sake, I shall adventure to present them a new, as having little more in addition to the elabourate pains of others, than in some particulars which I find not as yet produced to the light of the world: Briefly then, It is a knowne truth that the King in that his unnecessary raising of a warre against the SCOTS, and through the prodigality of the Court, especially the petulancy and lavishnesse of the Queens side, had so exceedingly exhausted both his Exchequer and Credit, and reduced himself to that extremeIndigence, that he knew not whither to turn himself, neither (as in the Breviary of his Reigne is exactly laid down) could that great head-piece, & the

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the grand Master for carrying on of all his Arbitrary work, shew him how to dif-intangle himselfe out of that harle, wherein his owne wilfull Inclinations had incumbred him: We all know, that the King on the entrance of the Scots at Newborne, in August took a posting journey Northward to his Army, Strafford being Commillioned Generall in the room of the Earl of Northumberland, whither they were no sooner arrived, but they found the Souldiery in little better than mutiny for want of their pay; the whole army then lying on Free-quarter on the County of York, and the King without so much money as would pay halfe a Regiment, the Scots possest of the Town of Newcastle, the Nobility having been exhausted in their attendance the Summer before, yet to shew heir loyalty, they again repair to York; amongst the rest, the Earls of Hartford and Elex in their journey take an occasion by the way to addresse themselves to the Queen, to whom they declare the fad condition wherein both the King and Kingdome were then reduced

duced, and that they saw no possible means, other then a Parliament, whereby to repair the State, relieve the King, and peece up the rents and breaches between both Nations; on this expostulation they prevailed with the Queen to write her Letters to his Majesty, to move him to condescend to the summons of this Parliament, the mention whereof they very well knew without fuch a mediatrix would be very displeasing unto him; these Lords' being thus provided with her Majesties Letters, repair to Yorke, and presented them to the King, and upon consultation with the rest of the Lords then attending his Majesty, five and twenty of them joyn in a Petition to that purpose: The Scots likewise, and 200 Gentlemen of the County of Tork concurring in the same sute for a present lummons of a Parliament. Thus was his Majesty (as I may say) beleaguered on all hands, not any one but Strafford dissenting; in the end, what between the Kings urgent necessities, and a concurrency of Petitions, together with the Queens Letters (which weigh'd most with

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with the King) was this Parliament contrary to the expectation of all men, produced, to the admiration of the Kingdom, though against the Kings expresse vow, taken at the putting off his robes (as before is mentioned) when he dissolved his second Parliament, and in a contemptuous deportment, threw them from him, protesting that it should be the last time of their putting off or on: Hence we may difcern through what difficulties and streights this Parliament took it's beginning, we may well say, by Gods speciall providence, and by hers principally as the instrumentall cause thereof, which soon after was it's greatest Enemy, and not by the Kings choise and inclination, as it is shamefully averr'd in his Pourtraicture, whereas, the bare name and mention of a Parliament was well known to be odious unto him, and the very motion of calling any more prohibited, by his own expresse charge to all of his Councell of State, as that which he foresaw would be the onely impediment to the accomplishment of all his arbitrary designes

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fo meerly brought to their ends, but thesummer before he waged the sirit warre against his native subjects the Scots, an enterprise which the World knowes was the only Remora that checkt and chooked all his projections in the maturity of their birth, which to recover on sight, and his sense of the Parliaments proceedings he soon found he had no other way lest him but by open War and force to suppresse them, the mannagery whereof I shall now briefly present unto you.

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The Parliament had its Summons from Yorke (as all the Kingdom knows) and the third of November 1640. fate downe at Westminster, where according to the usual Ceremonies, the King in his own person, in a set speech made a very gracious protestation, viz. That he was fully resolved to put himself wholy on the love of his People and Parliament, which it is proved not prosperous and a happy Parliament the fault should be none of his, and that he was fully determined to commit the reformation of all things amisse to their remation of all things amisse to their remation of all things amisse to their re-

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gulation. A profession which both took much with the House and all the Kingdom, which had he been pleased to have performed, and to have made good his word, in not protecting the many delinquents, questioned within a few moneths after the Parliaments first fitting downe, as with justice, honour, and his Coronation oath he was obliged, and in reference to his owne prohit he might very well have forborne, fuch tragicall iffues could never have befallen himself and the 3. Kingdoms: but having then entertained other defigns, and perceiving the Parliament to fly high, and at his chief Ministers and woork-masters of his former arbitrary projects, and on those which had fomented that unnecessary Warre against the Scots, as the Earl of Straf ford and the Arch-bishop (principally) the Prelates and dissolute Glergy, most of the Iudges and the Farmers of the Customes, (not for common faults, but very high misdemeanours) the King to crosse them, most ignobly and against the justice of the Kingdome, not only provoked, but openly shewed himself

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himselse both a defendor and protector of their Delinquencies, and upon the distast he took on the commitment of Strafford, was instantly known to have laid fundry plots and practifes, how he might dissolve the Parliament, or utterly to destroy it, which the Parliament perceiving, and that the Queen under colour of accompanying the Princesse Mary into Holland, was fent thither with the Crowne Jewels to buy Arms, and procure forces to be fent him, and Digby employed to the same purpose; whereupon in prevention of the storme which they evidently then faw was like to fall on themselves and the Kingdom from beyond sea, they moved his Majesty that the Kingdom might be put into a posture of defence, and the militia deposited in such hands, as they might confide in, which he utterly refused to grant them as inseparables to the Crowne (as he alleaged) he was resolved to keep folely in his own power; The Parliament in answer to this, insist, That the Kings power therein, by the Law of the Land, was only fiduciary, allwayes

* Vide the Juncto.

wayes in reference to trust, & the publik good & safety of the Kingdo; hence the contest by degrees grew to a separation, and in furtherance of the dispute, he also denyed the house to disband the Irish Army, raised long before by Strafford, and compos'd of Papists, a storm which could not otherwise be expected but would (if not timely prevented) fall on them from Ireland, whereof the * Juncto at their very first fitting down had sufficiently informed them out of Straffords own mouth for what use and end that Army was raised, viz. where he tels the King, you have an Army in IRELAND to reduce this Kingdome, when it was manifestly known to the world, that it never was in a greater calm of peace and quietnes, and the univerfall people in a more abfolute obedience, and as ready to be ridden as any flaves under the Grand Signior.

During this conflict, the King would needs take a journey into Scotland, notwithstanding the House by sundry petitions had earnestly moved him, either to lay it aside, or at least for some time

to retard it, (but howsoever the King carried on his plots & intentions in the dark, & with as much cunning as possibly could be devised) yet they hadthen good reason to suspect, that his journey Northward was to some other end, than in leaving them to visit his Scotch Parliament, as it after proved; but on he would for Scotland, and before he took his journey, in a feeming providence to disburthen the Kingdome of the charge of the Scotch Army, he first prest the house to disband (with all their expedition) that Army, and to pay pay that of his own raising in the North, but not a word of disbanding it; upon this motion the House took it into their serious consideration sapprehending it for a provident, carefull, and timely motion of the Kings) and thereupon bethought themselves, how first to disband and quit the Kingdome of the Scots untill Mr. Stroude standing up, told the Speaker, That they ought not in such haste to depart with the Scotch Army, lest the sonnes of Zerviah (in their absence) would be too hard for them, this speech the house soon apprehended, and instantly resolved not to disband the one without the other army, which the King perceiving, & being daily prest with Petitions of the Officers of his own Army for their pay, and himselfe not possibly able to content them, as also, that 25000 l. per mensem, allowed to the Scots Army, with 300000 l. by way of brotherly love given them by the Parliament in compensation of their losses through the Kings needlesse and unnecessary molesting them, during the two Summers before, amounted in the totall to so vast a sum, as that neither himself was able to contribute a groat, or the Parliament otherwise to discharge, but by borrowing it on the Publique Faith.

It would amaze those which are happily ignorant of the managery of this work, if I should tell them in what extremity of want the King was then reduced, and how he durst adventure to struggle, and after to trip up the heels of a Court of Parliament, which, without the least upraiding him with his prosusions, and irregular Regality were

not only willing and ready to pay all those vast scores of debts contracted through his own wilful misgovernment. but then had it in agitation, how to improve his Revenues, and to inable him to live of himself without squeezing his Subjects, in honour, splendour and plenty beyond any of his Progenitors as it is well known to many of his own party who were of that Committee, * touching the improving of an annuall revenue to be setled upon him by act of Parliament, out of one particular, the Customes amounting to 400000 li. per annum, proposed by old Mr. Turner the Farmer of the Allom works, and the same so much forwarded, that it was committed by Votes of the Parliament, to a select number of Members, to be confidered, and shortly after was stated to a proportion of 200000 l. more per annum than ever he received out of the great and petty farms, but that the world may know the wilfulnesse of this King, after that he was gon from the Parliament, and had erected his Standard at Nottingham, he sent word by Master Levison by name, and one of

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* Sir John
Broke, Sir
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of his Bedchamber, to Turner, That if ever he medled with the Parliament about that businesse thenceforth, not to look him in the face; whence it evidently appears, that he meant not to take any thing of the Parliament by way of gift, having it in design to take what he pleased, as power should inable him. God knowes I send you no Fables, but shall willingly be accomptable of any thing which you shall find herein inserted, if it suit not with the naked truth and fincerity of him, who would not that your felf and fo many of the Englif Nation should be any longer deluded and flamm'd with untruthes, and nurst up in a belief of want of the Parliaments good and loyall intentions towards him, untill he had wilfully and desperately made himself uncapable of the love and loyalty of his people; and such was the ingratitude of this unhap-King, for proofe whereof amongst many instances that I could present, and of his carelesse paying where he borrowed, and ruining of many of his servants, let this one suffice of Mr. Tmrner, tow hom he owed no small sums, promised

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promised much and often, as he did to many others, but performed nothing, when it was the least thought of his heart; the after-story, as a known truth, will both shew forth his ingratitude, and the extremity of his want, with those fordid shifts he was put unto, both at the sitting down of this Parliament and long before, when the poor old man petitioned him for the nomination of a Baron, which is most true, that the King granted him without scrupie, provided he named a Gent. & of worth; in short, it was my Lord Carel, and he was to give him in ready money, 10000l-but the King sending for the old man, told him of his want, and that he would gracifie him otherwise with double that sum; so the King as it is well known flattered the good ald man out of his money, which was presently given to the Queen Mother for her Transportation hence into Germany, and the old Gentleman left to feek his bread, and to die a very poor man; many instances of this kinde I could relate, but to returne to our relation: the Parliament then moved the City for the loan of so much present

present money as might serve to discharge the arrears due to both Armies, which the Citizens denyed, unless an act might passe for the Parliaments sitting during pleasure; the Citizens well remembring the Kings wonted and sudden dissolving of all the Parli-

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aments of his Reigne.

The King then finding where the Remora lay, readily past that bill in relation to his own debt, which hath been since both by himselfe and his party so much magnified for an Act of Grace surpassing all of his Progenitors, and shortly thereupon takes his journey towards Scotland, which considering his own hidden designes, was chosen in so fit a conjuncture of time, as that he overtooke the Scotch Army in their march before they past the borders, where what overtures he made to the Commanders to joyn with him against the Parliament, best appears by the notice thereof given and fent by them to the Parliament and their own Commissioners here then reliding The King then finding that neither the English or Scotch Armies would be wrought upon

upon, answerable to his designes, posts to Ed nburgh, where he very well understood, that to keep the Scots quiet, necessarily he should be compell'd to give that Parliament all the content they desired, as tis maisestly known he did in all things they demanded, and in many Acts of Grace, which to the English Parliament he utterly denyed, and stood upon even to the last, as the Militia, the choice of their Admirall, Chancellour,

Judges, &c.

During the Kings abode in, Scotland, which was near upon foure moneths, it is well known the Irish Rebellion brake forth in October 1641. and that rifing authorised under the great Seale of Scotland, as both the Rebels themselves aver'd, and that attested by divers witnesses of credit, which had feene it under Seal: the Parliament here at that time had a recesse, only so many of the Members as might keep up the reputation of a Parliament resided at Westminster, the rest were retired unto their habitations untill November following, when by order of the Houfes they were all to re-affemble, in the mean

mean time, whilest most of the Lords and Commons were in the Country hapned that Rebellion; the Parliament by this time and at their coming together, had to their old, a new worke cut out to their hands, what the King could not accomplish either in England or Scotland, by the way of insurrections and disturbances in both those Kingdomes, he had fore-laid the way to do it in Ireland, howsoever grosly palliated and denyed in his Pourtracture, yet so suspicious of fowle play, as that on a right understanding of the mannagery of the peace, and the flye carrying on of the whole businesse, between himlelfe and the Marquesse of Ormand, to be seen in his own Letters) makes it plain that he had a perfidious hand therein.

Now as to his preparations from France and Holland, wherewith to Invade the Parliament, its manifest he had then in readinesse a very considerable proportion of all sorts of ammunition, and many men, at least in expectation, to be sent him at a call.

About

About the beginning of December following the King (having (as he conceived) made sure worke with the Scots) comes to London, where at his first comming to the House, he makes open profession, what content he had given to his Scotch Parliament, even to a kind of oftentation, and as to this Parliament some dislikes he was pleased to take against them for that in his absence they had no better forwarded their worke; and as to his reception in the City it was magnificent, and as it seemed very well pleasing to himselfe, sure it was to the people and all the spectators, which suspected nothing of his ill meaning towards the Parliament.

The King by this time having been at home much about 10 dayes had a new and another kind of game to play than that of meriment, he found that the Parliament was then much distracted (as good reason they had) with the apprehension of the Irish insurrection, and that horrible slaughter there committed on the poor English Protestants, and that they stood

not a little in jelousie and affrighted at their assiduall intelligence received from beyond sea of the Kings preparations, and that his heart was not right towards them; but of this he had determined to put them foon out of doubt, and the more to confule them, conceiving that the Citizens would on all occasions be wholly for him, having in his approach to the City in his returne from Scotland, and his entry into the Suburbs, and throughout all the City, courteoully saluted the people by the often puting off his Hat (as before is intimated) a favour which till then neither himselfe or his Father before him had never bestowed upon the vulgar (when (as it after appeared) his designe was to make use of them, having in readinesse, and shortly after fild whitehall with the forlorn Officers of his Casheered Army, he takes an occasion under pretence of suspicion of Treason to send for Sir Arthur Hasteringe, Mr' Holls, Mr. Pym, Mr. Stronde, and Mr. Hamden, of the Commons House, and m; Lord Kimboulian of the Lords Howfe

House, by one of his Serjeants at Arms, which being denyed him by the House (as a plain breach of their privile-

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The very next day being the fourth of January, he comes attended with his guards, and those armed Cavaleers. and entred into the House of Commons, fits downe in the Speakers Chaire, and demands the foresaid six Members, which, upon private intelligence given them of the Kings intent, had absented themselves; the King missing his prey grew exceedingly into choller, and vow'd that he would have them wherefoever they were; his own comportment and the demeanour of the Cavallers, both in desperate words and big looks was fo terrible to the Parliament that they for sook the House and sate in the City, sending out a Declaration of the high breach of their Privileges, together with a Petition to his Majesty that he would be pleased to grant them a guard for the security of their persons and sitting, which true it is it, was granted them, but with such a person for the

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command, as that they durst not accept of him, but were compelled to remaine for their safety a longer space in the City, untill the Lord Major and the Citizens readily assisted them, and for their better security brought them in Coaches strongly guarded to West. minster, whither also resorted a confiderable party dayly passing along by Whitehall Gates to their rescue in case the Cavaleers should have againe disturbed their consultations, on this party the Cavaleers falls a beating them whereof some they kill'd, even at the Court gate, untill a greater number came to their assistance. The King finding himself then deceived in his expectation, and that the people were generally devoted to the Parliament, he makes severall visits into the City, where in a publike audience he partly complains of the affronts to him by the Parliament in their detaining the fix Members, and partly excusing his unadvisednesse in his entring the house in that manner as he did (which is evident by his o wnDeclaration) but finding at last, that his hopes

hopes failed him to have any affistance out of the City against the Parliament, he stood some time in doubt what course to take, but in the end refolves under the specious pretexts of his Insafety by reason of the Tumults, (as since himself stiles them) not to stay at Whitehall any longer; thereupon he departs from his own-Court and the Parliament, as more fully hereafter I shall take occasion to remember. Hitherto I have presented you with nothing but that which is obvious, and long since knowne to all the Kingdome, having as briefly as I could, deduced the story, from the third of November 1640. which was the very day that the Parliament fate down, to January 1641. neer about the latter end whereof the King removed from Whitehall to Hampton-Court, Windsor, and I heobalds, accompanyed with his wonted guard of Ruffians; the Parliament continuing still to petition him for his returne, and concurrence with them; but no perswasions or arguments would prevail, but on he goes Northward, and makes his residence 25

at Tork, whither he draws by degrees many of the Lords and Commons from the Parliament, most of the Delinquent party reforting unto him, together with my Lord Digby from beyond sea, though with his own approbation long before proclaimed Traytor; thither also (notwithstanding the severall affronts done to the Parliaments Messages and Messengers) they ceased not to importune his return; but nothing could move him against his will and inclinations, for now he had another game to play, having hitherto failed in all his practises, and (as he conceived) his designes then grown to maturity, his next plot was to seize on the Town of Hull, by the Earle of Newcostle, where a very great Magazine of Arms and Ammunition had been deposited the Summer before, which the King had also refused to return to the Tower; and the Towne of Newcastle by Colonell Legge was likewise to be seized on, both maritime towns and of great importance for the letting in of all strangers to his af-fissance; whereof the Parliament having

ving certain intelligence, and by all the Kings former courses being more fully assured from abroad apprehending the dangerous consequence therof, thought then it more than high time in what possibly they could, (for the safety of themselves and the Kingdom) to prevent the mischiefs, which they then evidently perceived threatned the universall Nation, and thereupon they suddenly dispatched the two Hothams with Commission to pre-possesse the Town by the Trained Bands of those parts: here you may see the first armes that ever the Parliament appeared in, unlesse you shall urge the guards which the City sent them for securing their persons from the fury of the Cavaliers, which admit, it was onely defensive, to preserve themselves and the Kingdome, in what possibly they might, and in prevention of future storms, which they inevitably saw were sure to fall upon them from abroad; and had they not gone farther, in seizing on the Navy, the Tower, Forts, Castles, and Ammunition, together with the Crown Revenues, which are the Nerves and strengths

strengths of the Kingdome, which had they neglected, no man can make doubt but they would have been perverted from their proper use, and turned against the Kingdom; surely then when they perceived that nothing would worke upon the Kings obstinacy, but that he was resolved to make Warre, and to embroyle the whole Kingdom, and let in strangers, they would have been deemed unworthy of the places they held in the behalf of their Countreys, had they not done as they did. But as to the Kings part, please you to look over all the progresse of his designes, and take them once more into your second consideration, and you cannot in any reason believe, but that from the very first commitment of the Earl of Strafford to the I ower, whose escape he had privatly plotted, and to send him into Ireland, (as in part is before noted) but that he intended to force the Parliament to his will, or utterly to annihillate it, especially when he found that the Earl was condemned, and his execution prest (as a publica example) to dye, after which its most certain

certain he meditated nothing more than war, and to be revenged on the Parliament as it evidently appears by his fending over the Queen into Holland to buy arms, Cockram into Denmarke, and Digby in the same errand, as also by his practifing of the Army in the North to fall upon the Parliament, together with the flight of Percy, Fermin, and Suckling, as the onely persons first engaged in that Plot, which durst not stand to the Test, and in order to these, his peremptory denyall to disband the Irish Army, and his private addresses to other forreign Princes and States to supply him with men, money, and arms, all which his practises were visibly known to the Kingdom, to have been in agitation some of them before the Earle of Straffords execution, other shortly thereupon, which evidently shews, that he was resolved at any rate, and by force of arms to suppresse the Parliament. In the universal disturbance of the whole Kingdome, you may further observe, how in pursuance of his mischievous designes, notwithstanding the dislike the Parliament had of his;

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his determination to goe into Scotland, and their humble motions to him to lay that journey aside, or at least for some time to retard it, as before is laid down, yet would he needs goe, and the reasons thereof are perspicuous, confidered as he made choise of his time to overtake the Scotch Army beforethey came to the borders, and to attempt to corrupt the Commanders to turn to him, and if that failed, yet to give his Scotch Parliament all the content they would desire; take the design farther; What worke was made there concerning the Irish Rebellion? what after his return home he made here, in his affaulting the House in a warlike posture, and his accusing the six Members (as the most noted Commonwealths-men) in terrour to the rest, upon no other ground but on a vaine surmise of his own making, of suspition of Ireason, where the proof is so plain by the first shedding of bloud at his own dores, and the hostile manner of his entring the House attended with 300 armed men, and most of them of desperate and forlorn Fortunes, that the

the very bare deniall that the King made not the first Ware doth surpasse even impudence it self: I am not ignorant that the Kings many protestations, and not a few of them fortified with imprecations, hath taken a firme footing in the belief of many half-witted men, that his Cause was much better than it was, but the wiser sort make their judgements of men by their actions, not by their professions, and they believe by the testimony of their sences, what they see and feele they are bound to believe, especially when a King in his private inditements which are the dictates of the Soule, & those addrest to a person which had gained an absolute power over the faculties of his reason and understanding, fuch unbeleevers are not fit for humane society. But omitting repetitions and further Comments, wee have left the King at Yorke, where for your better satisfaction it is fit that I put you in remembrance how there hee pursued the War, in raising the people, and inviting the Counties both farre and near to rife and fide with him a-G 4 gainst

gainst the Parliament, which in the Observations I shall send you will be made more manifest. But that it may more fully appear upon what further grounds the King forfooke his owne house and the Parliament, besides the pretended fear of Tumults (of his own causing) it was suggested unto him, and he was made to believe, That without his presence and concurrence with the Parliament they could not, neither durst they vote or act any thing, though never so relative to the fifety of themselves and the Kingdome, so that its apparent, that either by fraud or force he was resolved to put an end to this Parliament, and for farther proof of this I refer you to the Obfervations.

Now as to the main of your accusations, the t king away of the Kings life, and dis-inheriting of his Posterity, I crave leave to defer this point to the last, and to the conclusion of my animadversions, where happily you will find the true reasons thereof; and shall now proceed to the Change of the Government which you charge on

the Parliament to be fo long fince plotted, and as a power usurped and exercised by them in a dispotical way way of Tyranny, in raising of money, imposing of taxes, and intollerable contributions on the whole Nation; to take them apart I shall begin with the change of the Government as it is now established in the nature of a Republick, which you know to be gotten by the Sword, and likely so it is to hold, by the same weapon as the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans got their Dominions here by Conquest, and as the late King on that mere foundation intended to make his power absolute and A la Francoys, in the needlesse endeavour wherof, and to be more than stood with the constitution of the English Soveraignty, you know how he lost all, together with his life; if your conscience cannot brook the present gove nment as now it is established. I fee no other remedy left you, but to quit the place you now live in (and quietly if you would) it suffiseth my Conscience that I live under it, in the enjoyment of somewhat wherewith to subsist, which I am sure was more than my

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my felf and many thousands more could do, when and werefoever the late Kingsarmies were prevalent; as to the Taxes and Contributions, whereat you so much repine as insufferable, and most illegally imposed on the people, all that I shall say to it is that we which suffer them, may all of us thank your party for it, as inforced on the States by your only means, for the defence of the common freedome of the Nation, which as in the beginning of the late Warres, your party under the royall Commissions invaded, so you continually indeavour to subvert them, by all the secret plots and practices you possibly can invent, whereas could that malicious tumor of yours, and that unquietnesse of your spirits by allayed, and your selves per-Iwaded by reason, before it invades you, the taxes you may be fure on't, would foon be abated, why then can you not rest content with that change and government, which, were you not hood-winkt, you might manifestly see Go shigh and over-rnling providence to have carried on the worke both in a series of the many and miraculous

culous victories of the Parliaments, as also in disappointing all the late Kings designs, and in discovering all your plots and practises, even from the very beginning of the warre to the present, which although they weigh not with you, as men bewitched, and as I may fay, befotted with an incapacity or hardnesse of heart not to be convinced by any force of reason, or arguments, though providence it selfe visibly shews it out unto you, that not only Gods special hand is in this great change of affairs, but that he hath yet some greater worke depending on this, which in his own good time he will bring to passe, in throwing down that proud papall Monarchy, and utterly to confound that man of fin who fits in the temple exaulting himselfe above God.

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Sir, Here may you be pleased to take in your more serious consideration by whom Kings reigne, and cease to reigne, and soberly to observe for what sins almighty God usually striks down the prowd Septers of Kings, and binds their Nobles in chains of Iron, and

you may without presumption say, and find it most true, throughout all the facred Scriptures, that where Idolatry, Injustice, Oppression, and Bloodshed have had predominance, there Gods wrath hath inseparably attended the Authors, and favorers, and most feverely punished those sing above all others, and what in these sins have been either permitted, acted, or connived at by the late King (howsoever faced out and denyed by himselie) and most of your party, and his cause shamefully defended, yet I suppose you cannot but acknowledge that they have not only been winked at, but backt and authorised com privilegio. And here give me leave to tell you, that I have stood amazed at the impudence of your royal bookmen, I shall only instance (amongst ma ny) in a sew, as Judge Fenkins his Lex Terra, and other of his jugling fragments, the Regall Apologie, the Reliquia Sacra Carolina; but especially in that grand imposture of the Kings Pourtracture; in all which, that they should give the plain lye to truth,

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conceale and smother the true intent of the lawes of the Land, and contradict the Kings own Letters and expresses written with his own hand, augments the admiration, and much the more that they should with such acerbity exclaime against the ripping up of the faults of the dead, when they themselves give the occasion, in their frequent invective Pamphlets against the Parliament, and in their justifications of a Prince, whose inclinations lead him to the fulfilling of his own will, though to the apparent losse of his Crowne, and his dearest friends, so violently were his inclinations driven on to the accomplishing of his designs, when as neither the junctoes of France, Spaine, Denmarke, the States of Holland, or scarce any Prince Christian, (though most of them of his nearest allyes, and solicited by all the artifices that man could invent) would owne owne him when they understood the wayes and enterprises he most wilfully undertook, and all of them (upon due examination) as unnecessarily undertaken, and needlesly pursued with as much violence and craft, as if they had some necessary dependence on his own salvation, and the safety of his people, when as God knowes, they were most destructive, the mishapen, and illegitimat births of his own willful inclinations.

Now it would not be much impertinent to the subject you have sent me, if i should tell you that I find not any one Nation in the world that hath had any great reason to be overmuch inamored with their Kings, fure I am neither of us both (how different loever in our principles) have had any great cause given us to dote on our last, considered, as he raigned in blood and oppression, and handled the matter both with his friends and foes whether forraigne or domestick; witnesse those needlesse Warres he ingaged himselfe against Spayn and France in the entrance of his reigne, afterwards with the Scors, but especially with this Parliament and the subjects of three Kingdoms, not only to the beggering of them, but the ruine of himselfe and his posterity; and yet is this

this most willfull and bloudy Prince the only King which your party have so much admired, defended and believed living, and dead, adored and esteemed for a Saint and a Martyr:

ir. You are a Gentleman well verst in History, I shall therefore take the boldnesse to advise you, to take the right demensions of all the Kings you have read of, either in the facred scriptures or prophane, observe well all their actings, and I dare be bold to fay that you shall very rarely find any of them which have strictly tyed themselves to the duty of their office or to have executed their powers otherwise than to the extream detriment of their Subjects, take them wherefoever they have been admitted either by the suffrage of the people (as that hath been the best means to keep them within the bounds of moderation) or permitted by the absurdity of succession, whether wisemen or fools, whether Children or of mature years assuming their Soveraignties by the power of their Swords, and doubtlesse you shall find few of them which have been

been over-mindfull of the good and welfare of their people, neither to have had any due retrospect to the right ends of Government, and that salas populi the safety and good of their Subjects, for which all Kings had their powers originally ordained and given them from God, never for their own private interests, which most of the Kings of the World have evermore studied to advance, and generally per fas et mefas right or wrong, indeavoured to inforce, as in this point we have all of us had a late and a lamentable experience; where take this in the way, that, without all dispute, all Kingly power, and that despoticall domination of that great hunter Nimrod, which was first by him usurped by force, and from him as the first pattern of Royalty, dispersed throughout most parts of the World, vet we find not in all the Scriptures any vestigia or authentick proof, that the succeeding Kings of the Nations, came to their powers by any immediate institution from God, but only permissive, though it is most true, that

that when such powers were in being, and how usurpatiously soever obtained, yet submission hath been by God himfelf enjoyned to those which lived under them, untill for their injustice and extreme Tyranny God in his justice determined to transferre their powers to others, as you may transparently see he hath done in our late change; fince then other powers than Kingly are now with us in being, you and I both, which live under them, are bound in conscience to submit and obey them, for all * powers are of God. And let me remember you, for its worth your observation, that the I fractites for a long time had no Kingly Government, but in Egypt, in the Wildernesse, and after in the Land of Cancan, for many hundred years together were no other than Ambulans Kespublica, a walking Common-wealth, and onely governed by Judges and the Princes of their respective Tribes, never by the absolute power of any one man, Moles himself having his assistants, even the Princes of the People, untill through their own wantonnesse and contempt H

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*Rom. 13.

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of that Government which God had fet over them, and in his providence and love towards them, knew to be fittest for them, they obstinately rejected the gentle government of * Samuel, and weary of their own happinesse (surfeiting as they did in the Wildernesse on that delicious food of Quails and Manna, and wishing for the flesh-pots of Egypt) in imitation of the Heathen, they thirsted after a King, and not unlike to Esops Frogs, they prest Samuel to change their quiet and peaceable Block into a furious and devouring Stork, their freedom into flavery, as first with these Arguments, I hat thy Connes walke not in thy wayes, but have turn'd aside after lucre, took bribes, and terverted judgement, (foul faults indeed and happily too true) for wherefoever power (without grace) is invested, faults there will be, and many times foul ones too; But this was not all that they resented, it was their ambition and desire of novelty in a vain-glorious affectation that swayed with them to be like their Neighbour Nations, and to have an illustrious and pompous domina-

domination over them; but how this pleased God, that Chapter with others shews us in a very sad dialect; for, God in his wrath gave them a King according to their desires; yet he commands Samuel to shew them what would be the manner of a King, and what Tyrannies he would exercise over them; howsoever their hearts being set on a Kingly Government (a glorious thing indeed in the outward shew and splendor thereof) have a King they would without more dispute, alleging other Arguments to Samuel, viz. That he may judge over us, go out before us, and fight our battels; But how most of their Kings executed judgement, and what needlesse battles they fought for them, and how much bloud of theirs was in many of their Kings reignes willfully and profusely spilt by most of the Kings of fudab and Israel, as also what taxes and tributes were unnecessarily imposed on them, their own Chronicles will best inform you, and all this King. ly work, what doth it amount unto, more than to fullfill the will and pleafure, and to maintain the pompe and splen-H 2

splendor of one man and his whole family in the open and privileged oppres-

fion of a whole Nation?

Now if the History of the Kings of Indah and Israel be not sufficient to inform your judgement of the oppresfions and Tyrannies exercised by most of their Kings as a just judgement of God on the whole Nation, (for I may of truth aver, that they were a stubborn generation, and God answerable to their own hearts desires gave them their belly full of Kings when it was too late for their repentance) then you may pick and chuse amongst all the Kings of the World, and you shall find the best of them little better than Tyrants (yea David himself a a man of blood, and most perfideous in the case of honest Vriah) and as the greater Fish in the Sea which eats up the lesser, so Kings on the Land are commonly no more than Canniballs, man-eaters, and as a good Author describes them to be ex genere bestiarum rapacium, a sort of ravenous beasts (an undenyable truth) especially where absolute Soveraignty is usurped by any one

one man, and that derived in a succeilion, which is the evill of all evils, and the very same which your malignant party so vehemently drives at, to introduce on the English Nation, and to inslave a free borne people, when your self being a rationall man, very well knows that no man ab origine was born a slave, but either by his own consent, or by the ambition and pleafure of Tyrants was made so; for who koows not that all men are of the self-same mold as Kings; neither were Kings ever ordaind of God to govern their people, otherwise than for their * good, never to be opprest * Romans and trampled on at their own wills and lustfull pleasures: But happily you may here charge me to intrench, and presse with the most on the Honour and Power of Kings, I answer, I honour them as Gods own Ordinance amongst other Powers, and am commanded by the Apostle to make prayers and supplications for them all, especially for Kings, (and great reason we all have so to do, lest they devoure us alive) but if they presume to break H 2

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over those limits and boundaries which Almighty God hath set unto them, (as of those, and what they are you may best instruct your felfe out of * De stronomy and * Ezekiel, where you stall finde the King to be tyed up to strict rules, as to read the law, and to observe it all the dayes of his life, that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren; and as the Prophet tels them, take away your exactions from my people, remove violence and spoyl, and execute judgement and justice, &c.) Vpon these considerations I hope you will not blame me, though I have not made one amongst so many which have sided with our late King in raising of war against his people and their Representative, neither in plundring and desolating the Kingdom, which howfoever those exorbitances (amongst other of his faults) have been palliated with as much finenesse of wit, as the art of man could possibly devise yet I beseech you let truth appear, which with a little of your patience you may more fully understand, and then happily you will adjudge him guilty

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of much more than hath beene yet vulgarly charged on his accompt; in the mean time remember our blessed Saviours oracle, That it is fit offences should be, but we to those which occasion them: Excuse me then, though I tell you, that I know none more guilty of the occasion of all our barbarous and brutish wars, bloodshed, rapine, and of the imminent danger and utter desolation, which at present threatens and hangs over three late flourishing Kingdoms, than he who ended his vexatious dayes at his own gates, and she which had the Honour of his bed, together with her which was the mother, and of all the mischiefs which befell all the places wherefoever she made her abode. But happily you may again reply, that I freak as a lofer, and true, and so may you and one hundred thousand more of poore innocent sufferers speake in the same fad dialect, as having felt the fearfull effects of the perversity of one mans will, who in the power of a moderate SOVERAIGNTY and the love of his people, by whom, and HA

and by this very Parliament (so hatefull unto him) never any King of England was more honoured, beloved, obeyed, and more courted; and when time was might have been what a just Prince would have desited; and should I aske you what might he not have been had he either at first, and long after this Parliament late downe, yea and long after the Warre began comply-ed with them (as great reason there was he should have done) and not to have protected Delinquents, neither to have sided with such as most treacheroufly deserted their trust, but tohave relyed (as at first he promised) on his faithfull Councell the Parliament, I presume you will acknowledg it for a manifast truth, that none of his progenitors, were, or could have been greater it honour, power, wealth, and in reputation at home and abroad; but the truth was, so powerfull a domination his inclinations had over any other reason than his owne, that the wayes of the Parliament (though never so relative to his owne honour, justice, profit, and welwelfare of the Kingdom) were so averse and contrary to his genius, then rather to be controuled, or suffer any reformation to have been accomplished by them, either in the Church or State, and his dilordered government to be regulgted by their advice, he would and did run the hazard of his owne ruine, his Posterity and people. And as allready I have shewed you, is a manifest truth that he tacitely had deligned, many years before this Parliament sate downe, not only to quit himselfe of this Parliament, but of all others, and as power should enable him, to invade the freedoms and liberties of the English Nation; howbever in these particulars (amongst many other of his faults) it is far otherwise attested in divers of his expresses, as also protested in his late book (be it his own or not) the evidence of his own private letters, and the observations on them will clear trat doubt; Where then, I beseech you tell me, should the subject have had any propriety, which by time and degrees would not have been fwal-

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swallowed up in that vast gulf of a prerogative royall, where into, not one year before the Parliament sate down, all that the subject had was in a faire way of ingulfing? neither wonder at this, for it is an infallible truth, that most Kings affect their own ends, and injustice, oppression, and commonly tyranny are faculties inherent to most of them, very seldome to look back to the proper ends for which they are ordained of God to advance the good and welfare of their subjects, but generally you shall find them only to seek the improvement of their own powers, & soveraignties, yea often times without any sensibility that their people are composed of the same slesh and blood as themselves, to make havoke of their lives and fortunes, sometimes to maintaine their power, pride, prodigallity, and luxury, and that which is worse, if worse may be, to fullfill their perverse wills and lustful pleasures in the beggering and slaughtering of millions of their subjects, for proof whereof, we need not go farre for examples, the indeavours of our own King

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Kings to inflave their subjects, yeelds us plenty of presidents, and the French to this day feel the yoke of slavery impos'd on them by Lews th' eleventh in taking away their Conventio de le Estates, and reducing that Government to be at his own disposement; neither was Ferdinando of Spaine quiet in minde, untill he had quit himself of the Justice of Arragon, a Court not unlike the Ephori amonst the Lacede. monians, or our Parliaments in England and Scotland, which limited their Kings, and kept them within the bounds of moderation; the Hallanders also have had lamentable experience of the Ambition of Philip the second, who on the massacre of 100000 of the Natives endeavoured to take away their ancient Immunities, and to invassalate the whole 17 Provinces under his absolute power; a strange passion in princes, when no power will content them, but that of absolutenesse, to be masters over their Subjects lives and Fortunes; furely if there be any anallogy between Shepherds and Kings (as no doubt there is) our blessed Saviour

our tells us, that bonus pastor ponit veram pro ovibus, the good Shepherd, of King layes down his life for his people, and not to expose theirs to fullfill his own lustfull pleasure; a sad and lamentable president whereof, we have

all felt in our late King Charls.

But to proceed, I would fain know, what your aims are, that moves you with such impetuonsnesse to revile the present Government, since I cannot imagine what other cause you have, but in your endeavour to bring in the new Crown'd King of Scots on the old score, thereby to re-make your selves in the unmaking and invassalating the rest of the English Nation, which duely considered as the posture of affairs with us now are, is so senselesse (in reference to the bettring of the peoples conditions) as that it exceedeth all the Chimæra's of the old Romances, and which you cannot expect may possibly be accomplished without the effusion of an infinity of more bloud, and by the fwords of the Scots and barbarous Irish (excellent cohabitants for the English (if you think

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think on't) when as you know they are generally hated by both those Nations, though probable it is, that your imaginations prompt you to beleeve, that all of your party shall assuredly rise with them, though in the undoubted fall of the rest of the Nation; and not unlikely you flatter your selves (out of the old remote potential hope) with the plunder of London, as the onely magazine of wealth, that will make you all abundantly rich, though in this too you may misse of your aims, unlesse at an instant you can change your native dialect, and speak Scoth Presbytery and Irish Tanestry in a trice, neither ought you to beleeve that the Citizens will stand still whilst you cut their throates: But what a strange peece of poverty possesses your intellectualls, to beleeve that in fuch a change and turne of Fortune (as all of you so much desire) an English man (howsoever principled) shall long enjoy either life, liberty or estate, otherwise than at the discretion of the Conquerour; and when the King, either or both those Nations and other

other forrainers shall come in upon us and Lord it over us, in a far higher strain of Tyranny than ever the Danes exercised in that short time they were here masters over our Ancestors; If you foresee not this misery, and the fatall consequence which necessarily must follow such a turn of Fortune, I must leave you to your own will and expectancy, yet must I not forbear upon these confiderations to commend unto your more serious thoughts, what kind and race of Princes weh. with such zeale you endeavour to bring in to govern over the English Nation, where I shall pretent you with a very formidable observation, as you may find it in the History of the Scotish Kings, and it is this, that seven, if not eight of the last Scotish Princes of the name and family of the Stuarts (one onely excepted) came all to their ends by violent deaths (a fearfull fate if you please to observe it) and some of them to make away one another; as for instance, lames the first who for his Tyrannny was cut off by the Nobility, the second was slain at Roxborough, the third at Bonoxborn, the

the fourth at Plomden field, the last three in as needlesse quarrells as our late King Charls engaged first against his native Subjects the Scots, and on the heels of that War against the English and their Representative, onely lames the fifth had the fortune to dye of a naturall death, but as to his onely Daughter Queen Mary and mother King lames the fixt, it is manifestly knowne that she caused Henry Lord Darnley her second Husband to be cruelly murthered, and only to make way to her third Marriage with Earl Bothwell her Paramour, whom the States banished, and shortly after call'd her to accompt for her Husbands murther, and for that fact and other conspiracies against the State, by the Votes of the major part of the Peeres and Commons in Parliament she was adjudged to die, whereupon she fled into England, where contriving fundry plots with the Papists and the Duke of Norfalke against Queen Elizabeth, and restlesse in her ambitious contrivements to dispossesse the Queen Regnant of the Crowne, you know

to what end she came at Fodringay, where we may safely believe that Gods just judgments overtook her, when she little dream't to have dyed at the block; what since became of her only Sonne King lames, and his two sonnes Prince Henry and our last King Charls? though the manner of the two first deathes are still held in dispute, yet we all know to what a fatall end the last came, even at his own Gates, and in the same place where the first blood was spilt by his own servants the Cavaleers; pardon me then, If I present you with an opinion of my own, which I am confident is an infallible verity, that allmighty God in his justice suffers not any man to come to a prodigious end but for fuch sinnes by him committed, as are equivalent to that sin for which he suffered; it is Gods own Oracle, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and he that kils by the Sword by the sam e weapon or the like he shal furely dye; for a conclusion, take this as a knowne truth to all the Nation , that both the late Kings , as they

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they were naturall Scots, very rarely loved an English man, sure we are, not the Nation in generall, and that very seldome either of them admitted any of the English into their Bedchambers, (for generally they were all Scots) neither took they any of the English (Buckingham excepted) into their fecrets, and as their privadoes, untill Strafford was taken into our last Kings favour, but no otherwife than as a meer States-man and a bold instrument to act any thing conducible his Masters designs, and such projects which were fritable to his endeavours and inclinations, otherwise I never knew any that were fit servants for him; and it is most certaine, that both the Father and the Sonne laid more subtill and cunning snares to insnare the English Nation, than all of the Norman race before them; the Father to have laid the foundation, and the Sonne to build up the whole fabrick of absolute Soveraignty, as insensibly at first, and from the beginning of their reigns, as posfibly their designs could permit, bug

but King Charls towards his last, and long before the Warres began, openly, and shortly thereupon in hostility, and with morter tempered with more English Hood than ever hath been so wilfully and profusely spilt by any one Tyrant in the World; and for what cause, and on what grounds (Ibeseech you tell me) more than for the Nug and idle fictions of a divine prerogative, and to rule alone without other Law than his owne Will, and without accompt to any but to God alone? they are both the Fathers and the Sonnes owne Maxims, just I yrant-like, quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem, and yet, which is the mystery and the wonder of the times, is this wilfull King cryed up, by his many partizans, for the onely paragon of Princes, and that which is of more admiration, his Protestations in the common be lief preferred and credited before his visible actions, and Cabinet Letters, which if men were not beforted, I am sure best of all other evidences, layes open the most hidden secrets of the heart: But it

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is most certaine, that before, and a long space after the battle at Edgebill, he refused all overtures of Peace, though tis confest he made many motions for Peace to the Parliament, but ever no other than on such disadvantagious terms as were utterly unfit for the Parliaments embrasure, and the Kingdomrs security, for we find them evermore accompanied with such restrictions, reservations, and ambignous conditions (howfoever gilded over with plausible pretences) that the Parliament at length durst not either trust him, or any of his specious Declarations, as in the observations on the Reliquia Carolina are manifested, for it is most true, that as soon as he had attracted a very considerable Army to his assistance, by his artifices, and the severall visits and the orations he made to the refpective Sheriffes and Gentry (before and after the setting up of his Standerd) of the Counties of Yorke, Lincolne, Nottingham, Leicester, Chester, Stafford, Denby, Flint, Salop, Oxford, and Berks, where-11

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in he neither spared any pains or travel, or lost a minute of time, both to dece ive and win the people to his cause; and 'tis evident, that he had not onely written his particular Letters to mon of the prime Gentlemen of the Kingdome to side with him, but had sent his peremptory commands to most of the Colonells of the Parliaments Army sent into Ireland for the assistance of the distressed Protestants, to repair to his ayde against the Parliament, a treachery and a testimony beyond all others of the falsenesse of his heart, considered (as hereafter it shall be made more apparent unto you) with the feeming zeal and care he pretended to bear to those poor Irish Protestants. It is worth your further observation, that this most unfortunate Prince, having so often accustomed himselfe to fraud and dissimulation, that it came at last to this sade issue, that all his after Messages and Overtures made to the Parliament (in the declination of his power, and after he was a Prisoner) though happily more really intended than formerly, attested

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atested with exceeding specious & plaufible Protestations, & some of them confirmed with his wonted Imprecations, were not beleeved, but suspected for fallacious; so long had this most unhappy King (like the Flie that playes with the same, which comes in the end to burn himself out of his own fury) fuch power had his will and naturall inclinations over his reason; where you may take an instance or two in the way for a proofe thereof. When he first raised his Army at York, for which he endeavours to flam off the Parliament, that those forces were onely raised as a guard for the security of his Person, and to confirme this, he caused divers of the Fugitive Lords then attending him, shamefully to attest, that he had no intent thereby to levy War against the Parliament, when immediately thereupon he began to march, and to run from place to place as before is noted, to raise more force, and that which is most perfidious, after he had erected his Standard at Nottingham he continued the same straine, utterly denying and protesting that

that he had not then any manner of intent thereby to wage war with his Parliament, as hereafter you shall more plainly see, a strange delusion to flatter himself, in dancing unseen in a net, and that that he should not onely be able to deceive the People by his Protestations, but to delude and cosen a Court of Parliament out of their understanding, as you may see this verified in his owne Expresses sent to the Parliament from Nottingham; and what a strange trick would he have put on the Parliament, when from To ke he sent them a Message, that he had taken a resolution to go in person into Ireland to chastise those Rebels, and to that purpose had determined to raise 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse in and about the County of Chester for a guard to his person, and to flatter himself with such a senseless device to delude the Parliament, as if they understood him no better, than to beleeve his designe to be reall, when they perceived his drift was, First to raise here a considerable force, & then to joyn with the Irish Army there, and

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in the end to turn all his power on the Parliament. It would be too wearisome to me to recount all the perfidious practices of this most unhappy Prince, and too tedious to your selfe to read them, I shall therefore for the present conclude and referre you to the animadversions and observations on the contrarity between his publick protestations, and private Letters, which you shall God willing receive very shortly, and wherein I doubt not but that you will find so much fraud, deceit and dissimulation of this King, as will amaze you, and turn the strong tyde of your belief, (hitherto poyfoned with flams and such subterfuges) as may shame any rationall man to be so long cosened and deluded by them. No more Sir at present but that I desire and wish you to beleeve no otherwise of that which I have fent you than in your judgement you shall find suitable to truth, and that as you shall see just cause, to esteeme me, (as I am) your well wishing friend.

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Animadversions or Observations on the strange contrariety between the late Kings Declarations, Missives, Protestations, Imprecations, sent at several times to the Parliament, and his Pourtraisture compared with his own Letters taken at Nase-by, and some other of his Expresses not yet taken into publike Observation.

SIR,

Have now fent you, by your fervant, those observations which I promised you, supposing that they will come to your hands so sea-sonably, as to help to convince you, that

that neither the Parliament began the late wars, or that there could be any designe or plot laid (of I know not how many years standing) either of a fadious party amongst them, to disturbe the peace of the Kingdom, take away the Kings life and his posterity, or to alter the Government, but that whatfoever hath fallen out fince the fitting down of this Parliament, hath been enforced by the King himself, and by a concurrency of fundry causes arifing from his own willfull inclinations, the sins of the Nation, and Gods speciall hand therein, as a fearfull punishment upon us all: If you think otherwife, and that you shall persist in your errours, I doubt not but these Observations will more clearly manifest unto you, that the King was (in all this tragicall contest) both his own enemy and no such innocent Martyr as your party conceives him to have been, and of this let his own actions, and his private Letters speak, and I shall be filent, whose principall endeavour hath been no other than to give you satisfaction (on your own provocation) and that truth

truth may appear to all those whom it concerns besides your self, and first to the

Observations on the Treaties for Peace, after the War began.

The first overture for peace, after the War began, was without all question of the Parliaments at Colebrook, which how it was accepted of by the King, and on the nick thereof pursued, by the drawing up of his Army in a mist, the slaughter at Brayuford best shews out what was the Kings meaning, which how he labours to defend it in some of his Expresses, yet without doubt if it were not persidious, yet very suspicious of no fair meaning; sure it was yety retrograde to the procuring of a peace, otherwise than as himself meant to have it by force.

The next overture for an accomodation was likewise of the Parliaments first motion, and agreed upon to be at Oxford, a place as inauspicious for treaties, as Parliaments; for it came to no other issue than to signific nothing; a

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Same wherein the King was wel vers'd, a proof whereof amongst many, you may find in his eighth Letter to the Queen, Jan. 3. 1644. from Oxford viz. The Portugall Agent hash made me two Propositions: First, concerning the release of his Masters brother, for which I shall have 50000 l. if I can procure his Liberty from the King of Spain; the other is for a marriage betwixt my Son Charles, and his Masters eldest Daughter: for the first, I have freely undertaken to doe what I can, and for the other, I will give such an Answer as shall signific nothing.

Observation.

Here you may first evidently see what a fine juggler the King was grown, and into what a streight hee had driven himself, to become a broker for money, and instead of Friendship to a King to whose Agent in others of his Letters to the Queen, he acknowledgeth himself to be more beholding for the transport of his Letters, than to the French Embassadour; and then as to the motion

tion of marriage to juggle him out with an answer which should significe nothing, judge you whether it would not have been more Kingly to have dealt more plainly with the Agent, and to have told him that he liked not the motion, on reasons best known to himfelse, than to have slam'd him off with a significavit rather of an affront, than

friendship.

The third motion for peace was also of the Parliaments sirst overture, and tendred to the King at Oxford, and agreed upon to be at Vxbridge, where how that likewise was aforehand ordered, and his Commissioners tyed up to his will, and to the wrack of his own Instructions, from which they were not on any conditions to recede, is made very clear in the Postscript of his Letter to the Queen, number 5th. January 9. 1644. from Oxford, viz. And be consident that I will not quit Episcopacy, nor that Sword which God hath given into my hands.

Observation.

If the Quære here should be made whether

whether God had so absolutely given the power of the Sword, into his hands, as at his own will and pleasure to unsheath it against his own subjeds, and the Representative of the Kingdome, whom by his Coronation Oath he was obliged to defend and protect, doubtlesse no man is so madd to believe, that the Kings resolutions (in using it as he did to their destruction) were so religiously byassed as it became a Christian King: But that you may further understand, why the King so peremptorily stood to the upholding of Bishops, and to keep the Militia in his own sole power, (for that's the meaning of his not quitting the Sword) which all the world knows to be no otherwise (by the intent of the Lawes of the Land, Reason, and the Law of Nature) an inseparable flower of the Crown than Fiduciary, alwaies in reference to a trust given our Kings by Parliament, out of confidence that it shall be used to no other intent or end than the defence of the Kingdom, and not to be perverted against it, as all the ancient and modern Statutes import,

port, both in their preambles and texts; Cast your eyes on his own Directions to the Vxbridge Commissioners number 21. where you may evidently see, that it was not so much the scruple of his Conscience and Coronation Oath, as in relation to his own particular designes and interests; viz. That as it is the Kings duty to protect the Church, so it is the Churches to affift the King in the maintenance of his Authority; wherefore my Predece fors have been alwaies care. full, and especially since the Reformation, to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely on the Crown, without which it will searsely fit fast on his bead; therefore you must do noth no to change this nece fary dependance.

Observation.

Here you have the true reason wherfore the King so much insisted on the keeping up of Episcopacy, and how likewise the cunning Gypsies the Bishops had instill'd it into his prehension, what sure cards they were to keep the Crown fast on his head, as

if the Crown and Myter had been such inseparables, as that the one could not subsist without the other; observe withall what a queint Aphorism they first cound and broched it to King Iames, viz . no Bishop, no King; and judge you whether no Porter no King had not been the better maxime, when as it is perspicuous, that most of our ancient Kings had no such Enemies as the Bishops, witnesse Tho. Becket to Henry the second, Lanfranke to Henry the first, Roger of Salisbury to King Stephen, Orleton to Edward the second, with divers others which almost in every Reign opposed their Kings, and addrest themselves to the Pope for their Palls and Investitures, indeavouring in what possibly they could to free themselves from any dependancy on the Crown, untill Henry the eighths time, who first of all our Kings freed himself of that servitude, which had beene fo fatall to most of his Predecessors. But look a little further and you shall finde in the Kings 19th. Letter to the Queen on the same snbject, Febr. 25. 1645. from Oxford; viz. Thou needs not doubt

Observation.

Here we have a true Character of this unfortunate Kings naturall obduracy, and the aversenesse of his Genius to alter any of his resolutions, which once fixt, he would effect on any hazzard whatsoever; the Earle of Strafford, who best of all others of his arbitrary Ministers had most studied his inclinations, needed not to have cherished

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shed this humour of the Kings, when as in the profecution of the wars against the Scots 1639. he counsels the King in * hac verba, Lose all I had, or carry all; again you may here fee how he had aforehand bound up his Commissioners with fuch instructions from whence they were not to stir or yeeld in a jor, as likewise how mindfull he was of the little Note, and punctually to observe it, a very fine note of remembrances I beleeve, had we the honour to have seen it; and were we not all of us of the English Nation, a happy people to see our King governed by the directions and documents of a woman, a strong Papist, and of the house of Medicis by the Mother, a most Emperious and dangerous generation of women, and fatal to all places wherefoever they came? a wife its true she was, but such a one as ruled and over-ruled that stiffenesse of his constellation, and effected more with him than either himself could doe, or the most inward of his Councell of State durst attempt, and on one caveat of hers would rather adventure the loss of his Crown, than not to flew his con-

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* Vide the Juncto quinto Maij 1649 constancy in the upolding of a Myter; you may remember how much pains he was at with the Divines at Newcastle and the 'sle of Wight, and what tenents he held in his dispute with them concerning Episcopacy, and that Bishops were of a Divine and Apostolik Institution, which is true in some sense, as those were which were instituted by the Apostles, but that our late Bishops as they stood here from before and after King Edwards Reformation, that they should be taken in with those of St. Pauls making, in the generall notion or latitude of Bishops, without any distinction, as if those Bishops of the Papisticall Church were of the selfesame nature, and of like ordination as those of the Primitive times, seemes 'Tis true, that at to me a paradox. the time of the Reformation the difpute grew high at the black-Fryers amongst the Commissioners themselves whether Episcopacy should remain as it then stood, or to reduce it to the originall patterne of the primitive Church, as Bishop Latimer, Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr would have had

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had it; but Bishop Ridly, and the rest of the Commissioners, most of them Bishops (as Sir Iohn Heymood in his first Copy of his * History of Edward the fixt layes it down) would by no means affent unto it; the other three maintaining that Bishops as then they stood were no other than chips of the papisticall block, and of no affinity with St. Pauls Titmothy's or Titus Bishops, neither could they be of any conformity with the ancient and primitive institution, but the meer excrescencies fprouting out of the exuberancy of the Papacy, long after the defection and adulteration of the primitive Church, which defection from the ancient purity began immediately after Gregory the Great, and 1 am very confident that there are none of our late Bishops so impudent as to maintaine, that either the Britain or Saxon Kings (whatfoever is fabled of King Lucius) ever erected any Episcopall Sees, or admitted of any Bishops that came hither before Austin the Monk, and such others after him, as were merely spriggs of the papacy, and that long

* The first copy upprest & expunged by the Bitheps and the old Knight committed by K. AMES to the Tower by the inttigation. of the Pres lates.

long after the adulteration of the Roman Church; a truth so perspicuous, as that I have wondred on the reading of the discourse between his Majesty and those learned Divines, why it was not prest by them, that Episcopacy, quatenus, as it stood here since and before the Reformation, was spurious, papall, and of no affinity with the Apostlick, or primitive institution; especially the wonder is so much the more that the King for the upholding of 26 square caps, should with such obstinancy (which he would have to be esteemed constancy) oppose a Court of Parliament composed of 500 Lords and Gentlemen, and pretend so much to honour and conscience, when as about the same time, and as I remember before that the dispute was here in the House for the expulsion of the Bishops, the King had granted the same boon to the Scots. But I beseech you take notice how mindfull the King was to remember his friends, and what were they think you more than Delinquents, Soldiers of Fortune, and the loosest vermin that the Kingdom could afford

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afford him, together with the Papists, many Country Gentlmen, and the Fugitive Members of both Houses which he had corrupted and drawn from their trust, with double ends of his own, not onely to make up his mungrell Parliament at Oxford, but to lame or destroy the legall Parliament at Westminster, whose privileges with so many protestations he had so often aver'd to maintain? In the next place please you to observe how memorative the King was to put a short period to this perpetuall Parliament; for this expression manifestly shewes how he intended to deal with all others, a Parliament as himself had made it, indissolvable (by any other way than that of the * Sword, which by no meanes he * The Mie meant to depart withall, until needs he must) and the act affented and granted by himself, on reasons merely relative to the payment of his owne debts, contracted by his unnecessary railing of War against his Native Subjects the Scots, and for the more speedy discharge of the arrears due to both armies, which the Parliament was then most

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* Sir Rob. Corton in the life of

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most willing to defray, without the least scruple, or upbraiding him with the cause of contracting so vast a sum, and all to gain at any rate his love and favour; where I must tell you, that you would have thought it somewhat harsh should they have told him as it was * answered in full Parliament to Hen: the third, that they would not pay his debts, neither give him a groat, jostquam cœpit esse dilapidator regni, so long dom, but you cannot deny how ready they were to expedite the payments, by taking it up of the City on the publick faith, which the Citizens (on remembrance of the Kings wonted manner of dissolving of all the Parliaments of his Reign without their due effects) utter-ly resused, unlesse an Act were past for the continuation of the Parliaments sitting, upon which grounds the King granted that act, which so nearly concerned his own particular, and the sending home of the Scots, whose company was then loathsome unto him. How then it comes to passe, that your selfe and so many of your party should think

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this fuch an act of Grace seems to me a wonder, when he had so often protested, not onely to maintain the Privileges of Parliament, but whatfoever acts he had for merly affented unto; but you see here his own expression, That he would not forget to put a short period to this perpetuall Parliament; what then I beseech you do you conceive would have been the issues? otherwise than to recall all those his so much magnified acts of grace (as Edward the third yeelded him a president) and at last by the power of the Sword (which he fayes God had put into his hands) to have invaded the Lawes and universall freedomes of the Nation as his very next Letter to the Queen manifestly imports March 9. 1645. from Oxford, number the 20th. viz. I have thought of one means more to furnish thee withall for my assistance, than his herto thou hast had; it it this, that I give thee power to promise in my name, to whom thou th nkest most sit, that I will take away all penall Laws against the Roman Catholicks in England, as foon as God hall in-

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able me to doe it, so as by their means or in their favours, I may have so power. full assistance as may deserve so great a faveur, and inable me to do it; but if thou aske what I call that assistance; I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily feen, if it deserve to be so esteemed; I need not tell thee what secrecy this businesse requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of considence I can exprose to thee, for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else, but in this which is the onely thing in difference of opinion betwixt us, and yet I know thou wit make as good a bargaine in this, I trusting thee (though it concerns Religion) as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much depending thereon.

Observation.

The Comment on this his Majesties noth. Letter, principally relates to these two most important considerations; first, the invading of the Laws, secondly, to the affront of the Parliament

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ment and the Protestant Religion, when he should be impowred by the affistance of the Papists, and a third necesfarily ariseth on the neck of the other two, viz. by giving power to the Queene, a profest Papist, and an enemy to the English Nation, to manage the businesse, and to make the best bargain for him, as she should thinke most fit, under the seale of secrecy, as being himself ashamed to be seen in the businesse, (as God knowes good reason he had) But in the mean time speak your Conscience, where was then the Kings Conscience, and his honour? and what became of his former protestations? wherein he so often avows the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, (without mixtures) and what was his own Religion, more than formall, or like a nose of wax, convertible onely as it should conduce to the visible good of his affaires? (they are his owne words) and what those affaires were more than his will and pleasure, in his uttermost endeayour to continue to imbrue the Kingdomes with more blood and rapine,

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by the swords and affistance of Papists, cannot well be imagined; these and a world of his other expressions, compared together with his own Letters, and his Pourtraicture, I must tel you plainly, have very much troubled my spirits, that he should so much and so often pretend to Religion, Conscience, and Honour, in yeelding up of Epis-copacy, when he made no scruple of Conscience to grant to the Scots the abolishing of their Episcopacy, which in the Chapter of Church-Government in his Pourtraicture, he strives to salve with an ill savoring playster, but for the retention of it in England, he pleads, and stands stiffly on his Coronation Oath, with the swallowing up of the most essentiall part thereof, which by far more obligeth the Kings of England to observe, than the preamble to that Oath, penn'd of old by the Prelats & Church-men for their own onely ends and interests, a very inconsiderable party, in respect of the quality of the Nobility: and Gentry; and that vast number of the Laity, of which it seems the King reckoned of af-

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ter the Popes computation, to be extra Caulam, either out of the Church. or at best but the fag end thereof, and accompts little better of them, than as so many cyphers, or his slaves at will, at pleasure, cleane forgetting, or slighting the grand & more essentiall part of his Coronation Oath, which is confidently averr'd the late Arch Prelate purposely emasculated, and never gave it him at his Coronation, but left him at liberty, which all men knows is that which obligeth the King to rule not onely by the Lawes in being, but per istas bonas leges quas vulgas eligerit, to govern by such good Laws as the Parliament shall chuse, and the reason of this is most most perspicuous, for the Lawes of England are not of that stamp as those of the Medes and Persians unalterable) but changeable according to the viciflitudes of times, and change of mens manners, and at the Election of the people in their Representative, the Kings affent being formall, and onely a necessary appendant, and by the intent of the Law, his principall power consists in the executive part, the Parlia-

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Parliaments in the elective; for it is without all question that never any of our Kings either abrogated or made any Law obligatory to the people by his onely lawfull power, but by the Parliaments consent and election; the nature of the Kings Office being more cumulative then privative, to give rather than to take any thing from their subjects; but here you may see what a latitude of power the King assumes to himself, where he promiseth to the Queen to take away all the penal laws against Papists, as soon as he shall be enabled to doe it, without a word of by your leave Parliament, so that you may manifestly see what he intended, and that no other sence than his owne is here pind upon him: you may further observe out of this Letter his windings, doublings, and fouldings, and how dexterously cunning he was growne, at playing fast and loose with RELI-GION, or with any thing else that might promote his mischievous designs, leaving no way unattempted though to prophaning of Religion, that he conceived might conduce to the visible good

good of his affairs (as that was his ufuall expression) and what was that visible good think you? other than to overpower the Parliament, and then to rule as he listed. But to shew unto you what a gamester he was at Hocus-pocus, I pray look upon the Postcript of his Letter to the Marquesse of Ormand February 16. 1648. from Oxford, viz. 'In case upon particu-'lar mens fancies, the Irish peace ' should not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you farther or-'der, (which I hope will prove need-1:sse) to seek to renue the treaty for 'a peace for a yeare, for which you shall prowise the Irish (if you can have 'it no better cheap) to joyn with them against the Scots and Inchiquine, but 'I hope by that time, my condition 'may be such, as the Irish may be glad 'to accept les, or I be able to grant more. Observation.

Hence you may make your owne judgement what a *Proteus* the King was grown; you may take this also into your observation, as suitable to

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the rest, that in all his Declarations, Letters, and Messages to the Parliament, and after he had lost all and could stand up no longer, and was a prisoner, they were then directed to his two Houses at Westminster, but during his power, and so long as he had any hopes left him to conquer them, he misses not throughout all his expresses to call them Rebels, and in that capacity tacitely treats with them at Vxbridge, (which the Scots at Rippon utterly refused to treat with him unlesse he would withdraw and disown his proclamations in stiling them Traytors) and although he calls them a Parliament, yet was it with a mental reservation not so to acknowledge them, as you may see in his 17 letter to the Queen (where it feems she had schoold him to the purpose for acknowledging them to be a Parliament, for which he makes a very humble and ample apology, and sayes, If there had been but two besides my self of my opinion, I had not done it, and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no wayes acknowledge

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'ledge them to be a Parliament; upon which condition and construction.' I did it and no otherwise, and accordingly it is registred in the Councells usel books, and with the Councells usenaminous approbation, but thou wilt find that it was my missortune, not my neglect, that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it.

Observation.

I need not comment on these fine pieces of the Kings, your own judgment may informe you what a quaint Iesuiticall jugler he was grown, by the conversation he had with the Mother and the Daughter, both of them being excellent proficients in the dodrins of Marchivill; and furely, under the Rose be it spoken, himself no very bad Scholler in that kind of learning; yet here you may fee what pains he was put unto, how to make a handsome excuse to save himself from a chiding: but I forbeare to make further mention of his perfidious courses, more than to put you in minde, that

fo long as his vain imaginations prompted to over-power the Parliament, and to reduce all to his own absolute pleasure, its most certain, that he refuied ali overtures for agreement with the Parliament, other than such (as before I have intimated) he verily believed to make advantage of; and this appears in his 9th. Letter to the Queen, March thirteenth from Oxford, viz. Dear Heart, What I told thee the last week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday last handsomly performed, and if I now do any thing unhandsome or disadvantagious to my self or Friends, in order to a Treaty, it will be merely my owne fault, for I confeise when I wrote last, I was in feare to have been prest to make some mean overtures to renew the Treaty, knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose; but I now promise thee, if it be renewed (which I believe wil not) without fome eminent good successe on my side, it shall be to my honour and advantage, I being now as well freed

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from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, of our mungrel Parliament here) as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them.

Observations.

We have here a plain proof of the former assertion, that during the Kings power, he would entertain no Treaties but such as here he promiseth the Queen, should be both to his honour and advantage, and he renders the reafon, viz. That he was then left free to himselfe to doe as he lifted, and as his inclinations should prompt him, as being quit of those base and mutinous motions of his mungrell Parliament at Oxford; where you may observe, how well Parliaments suited with the nature of this King; for this at Oxford (which was of his own designe, and calling, of set purpose to annihilate the legali Parliament at Westminster) was

(as himself stiles it) a base, mutinous, and mungrel Parliament, and he might with good reason so accompt of it, for they were indeed a fort of perfidious Fugitives, false to themselves and their Countreyes, and the King no doubt in his own thoughts esteemed them no other, for such as would be fals to themselves, the King was not to seek to make his own judgement what they would be to him, on the turn of any tyde of advantage, but that at westminster he calls a Rebell Parliament, though of his own first Summons: The truth was, none would or could please him, neither any councell but such as futed to his own will and pleasure. Its true, and it is confest that after he had lost all, and was a prisoner, he feemed more inclinable to embrace peace, and to that end fent his frequent Messages to the Parliament, but evermore with the old scruples of his Conscience and Honour, persisting to his last (as being fed with hopes of the generall rifing, 1647. and the comming in of the Scots under Hamilton) to wind himself up again to that pow-

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er, whither his restlesse ambition (to be more absolute than he ought to have been) lead him to the precipice of his own ruine, and it is more than probable, that during the last Treaty in the Isle of Wight, and the expectation of the successe of that rising to his rescue, he had a perfidious hand therein; for it cannot be imagined that such an association of English, Scots, and Welch, would ever in one conjuncture of time adventure to rise without either his Privity or Commission; howsoever it is manifestly known, that both the English and welch had for their undertaking the Princes Commission under hand and feale, neither is it likely that the Prince himself(during a Treaty so neer a period to an attonement) would either authorize that rising, or to have approached at that very time with his Fleet so near the Thames mouth, without either his Fathers Commission or approbation, the perfidie shewed therein I am more than confident utterly lost him, and was a principall canse that the Parliament could not in reason, or with Safety

fafety of themselves and the Kingdom, readmit or trust such a Prince with the government, of whose Reformation they could not but despair.

Observations upon the Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ.

T is worth his pains who defires to berightly informed of the truth of al passages and transactions between the late King, and the Parliament, his mysterious motions, pretences, and carriages, both during all the warres, and fince his death how matters have been managed by his partakers, especially by those which first published his Pourtraicture, and him who hath taken fuch pains in collecting so many of his papers, printing, exposing and dispersing them throughout all parts of the Kingdom, purposely both to deceive the people, and malitiously to work upon the facility of their affections in commiseration of him, and casting an odium on the Parliament; The artifice which this Impostor uses, is worth consideration, as he hath garnished

nished the approaches to his collections with the Kings picture in some places standing, in others kneeling, and as it were ejaculating his prayers to God, and those drest with fundry devices and motto's, and all this to invite the eye, if not the understanding of the filly beholder to a beleef, that he died an innocent Martyr, a Prince who suffered for his restlesse endeavor to desend the Protestant Religion, the Laws and Libertyes of his Subjects, as he would intimate by his hudling of the Kings many specious and fraudulent overtures for peace to the Parliament, and avoyding of future bloodshed. the Catalogue of his one and twenty Messages of the Kings, (besides additionalls) he is pleased not so much as to insert one of the Parliaments Answers in rejoynder to any of the Kings Messages, onely taking in so many of his Majesties which he conceived might serve his turn to clear the Kings innocency, and leaving out such of the Parliaments most materiall Missives to which the King omitted to give any answer at all; as for instance, let him produce L 3

produce what reply the King made to the Parliaments charge, for Ruperts intercepting of the Clothes, Provisions horses and other necessaries, sent by the Parliament in the way to Chester, for the releef of the relicts of the poor Protestants in Ireland, true it is, that long after an answer was, such as it was, made (though not by him mentioned) viz. that these provisions might have been better guarded; a proper answer if you please to take notice of it, when its mostevident, that the Kings forces not only took them with his expresse command but drew over the principall Commanders and Soldiers before sent by the Parliament to his own affistance against the Parliament, now, that you may see how the active part of the war was carried on by the King, take into your serious considerations his Message of the 15 of April, 1642. from Huntington, wherein he earnestly desires, That the Parliament will use all possible industry in expediting the bu. sine fe of Ireland, in which they shall finde so cheerfull a concurrence by his Majesty, that no inconvenience shall happen

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happen to that service by bis absence, he having all that passion for the reducing of that Kingdome which he hath expressed in his former Messages, being unable to manifest more affection to it, than he hath endeavonred to do by those Messages (having likewise done all such acts as he hath been moved unto by his Parliment) therefore if the missortunes and calamities of his poor Protestant Sub. jects there hall grow upon them (though his Majesty shall be deeply concerned in, and sensible of their sufferings) he shall wash bis hands before all the world from the least imputation of flacknesse, in that most necessary and pious work.

Observation.

A very pious work indeed, as himself ordered it, if you please to examine it to the bottome, then make
your own judgement, whether it was
not the Kings reach to gull the Parliament, by pressing them to expedite the
sending of Forces to the relief of his
poor Subjects of Ireland, and with
such words of pity and expressions of

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his remorfe, how deeply he was concerned therein, and how fensible of their sufferings and calamities, which might grow upon them, and just Pilate-like to wash his hands before all the world from the least imputation of slacknesse in him; when'tis manifest his meaning was both to make use of any fuch forces as the Parliament should fend over, against them, and consequently to dis-enable them the more in levyes here for their own defence against him, and his preparations, as it evidently appeared within 3. moneths after by the faid seizure of the Horses, cloaths and provisions sent by Chefter, as also by his remanding over the Regiments sent before into Ireland to make use of them, as it is visibly known he did, against the Parliament. But I pray extend your patience, and look farther into this darke worke of the Kings, take a short viewe of his next Message from Nottingbam, where he erected his Standard, it bears date the 25. of August 1642. Next to this his Message of the 5th. of Sept. 1642. with another of the 11th. of September

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September following, in pursuance of the former, peruse them all and you shal evidently see such notable juglings and Matchivilian dissemblings, as would amaze any Christian eye to behold them, compared with his actions, his Pourtraicture, and his own letters taken at Naseby: I shall present them all in their order, verbatim, and first that of the 25 of August 1642.

We have with unspeakable griefe ef. heart long beheld the distraction of this our Kingdome, our very soul is full of anguish, une we may finde some remedy to prevent the miseries which are ready to overwhelm this Nation by a Civil War, and although all our indeavours tending to the comp sing of those unhappy differences betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by us with all zeale and sincerity) have been hitherto without the suscesse we hoped for, yet such is our constant & earnest care to preserve the publicke peace, that we shall not be discouraged to use any expedient, which by the blessing of the God of Mercy, may lay a hnp-

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py foundation of peace and happinesse to all our good subjects. To this end, obser. ving that many mistakes have arisen, by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers bet wixt us and our two Houses of Parliament, which happily may be prevented by some other way of treaty, where. in the matter in difference may be more clearly understood, & more freely tran. facted, we have thought fit to propound to you, that some fit persons may be by you enabled, to treat with the like number to be anthorized by us, in such a manner and freedom of debate, as may best tend to that happy conclusion, which all good men defire (the peace of the Kingdom,) wherein as We promise in the word of a King, all safety and incouragement to such as shall be sent unto us, if you shall chuse the place where we are for the Treaty; which we wholly leave to you, presuming on the like care of the safety of these we shall imploy, if you shall name another place: So we assure you, and all our good Subjects, that to the best of our understanding, nothing shall therein be Wanting on our part, which may advance the true Protestant Religion, oppose

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Pose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law of the Land (upon which is built as well our just Prerogative, as the propriety and liberty of the Subject) confirme all just power and Privileges of Parliament, and render us and our people truly bappy, by a good understanding betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament: Bring with you as firm resolutions to doe your duty, and let our People joyn with us in our prayers to Almighty God for his blessing upon this worke; If this Proposition shall be rejected by you, we have done our duty so amply, that God will absolve us from the guilt of that blood which must be spilt, and what sever opinion other men may have of our power, we assure you nothing but our Christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of blood, bath begotten this motion, our provision of men, money and armes being such as may secure us from further violence, til it please GOD to open the eyes of our Pecple.

Not to trouble you with further search, I shall present you that Message of the 5th of September 1642. in

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pursuance of the former, together with that of the 11th. of the same Moneth, tending all to the same purpose, though the Observations on them you shall finde handled separation, and lest to your more mature consideration.

We will not repeat what meanes we bave nsed to prevent the dangerous and distacted estate of the Kingdome, nor how the emeans have been interpreted, because being desirous to avoid effusion of Blood, We are Willing to aecline all memory former bitternesse, that might make our offer of a Treaty read ly accepted: We did never declare, nor ever intended to declare both our Houses of Parliament Traytors, or set up our Standard against them, and much lesse to put them and this Kingdome out of our protection, wee utterly professe against it, before God and the World; and farther to remove all possible scruples which may hinder the Treaty so much defired of us, we hereby promise, so that a dry be appointed by you, for the unvoting of your Declarations against all persons as Traytors, or otherwayes for affi-

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assisting of us, we shall with all chearfulnesse upon the same day recall our
Proclamations and Declarations, and
take down our Standard, in which Treaty
me shall be ready to grant any thing that
shall be really for the good of our Subjests, conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of Ireland, and the dangerous condition of England, in as high
a degree, as by these our offers we have
declared our self to do, and assuring you
that our chief desire in this world is to
beget a good understanding, and mutuall
considence, betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament.

Sebtemb. 5. 1642.

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Who have taken most ways used most endeavours, and wade most reall expressions to prevent the present distrations and dangers, let all the world judge, as well by former passages, as our two last Messages, which have been so fruitlesse, that (though wee have descended to desire and presse it) not so much as a Treaty can be obtained, unless we would denude our self of all force to defend us from a visible strength war.

ching against us, and admit those persons accompted Traytors to us, who according to their duty, their Oathes of Allegeance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of us their King and liege Lord (whom we are bound in Conscience and Honour to preserve) though we disclaimed all our Proclamations and De. clarations, and erecting of our Standard, as against our Parliament; all we have left in our power is to expresse the deep sense we have of the publick misery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of our defressed Protestants of Ireland, and to apply our self to our necessary de. fence; wherein we wholly rely on the providence of God, the Instice of our cause, and the Affection of our good people, so far we are from putting them out of our protection; when you shal desire a Trealy of us, wee shall piously remember whose blood is to be spilt in this Quarrel, and cheerfully embrace it; and as no other reasons induced us to leave our City of London, but that with honour and safety we could not stay there, nor to raise any force, but for the necessary defence of our Person and the Law, against Le-

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vies in opposition to both, so we shall suddenly return to the one, and disband the other, as soon as those causes shall be removed: the God of Heaven direct you, and in mercy divert those judgements, which hang over the Nation, and deale so with us, and our posterity, as we defire the preservation and advancement of the true Pretestant Religion, the Law, and the Liberty of the Subject, the just rights of Parliament, and the peace of the Kingdom.

Sept. 11. 1642.

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Observations on the former three Messages of the Kings.

In these three Messages we have as specious and pious expressions (in shew) as possibly can be expected from a King that meant really as he writ, and said as he thought: But on a due consideration of all passages, and the subject matter in them contained, and as the case then stood betwixt him and the Parliament, with as much subtilty, crast and cunning, as can well be devised by the subtilest Disciple of Machavill.

Ishall take the: liberty to comment, and prove the assertion, out of the first of these Messages of the 25 of August 1642. and so in order to the rest, as they visibly shew out unto any rational man their purport, without drawing other Conclusions than necessarily arise out of the expressions themselves, compared with the Kings other Declarations, his actions, and his

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own private Letters.

First he tels the Parliament, With what unsgeskeable griefe of heart he bebelathe distractions of the Kingdom, untill be could find out are medy to prevent the miseries which were ready to hang over the whole Nation by a civill Warre. Where I pray tell me, who first gave the occasion, who raised those distractions, or made first preparations to a civill warre, other than himselse? Next speaks of differences betwixt him the Parliament, which he confesseth to have arisen through mistakes of the Messages, Petitions and Answers, betwixt him and his two Houses of Parliament, which he would have prevented by

a Treaty, wherein the matters is difference might be more clearly under food. and more freely transacted; And could there have been a more fitter place to debate them with honour and freedome, than in the Parliament? whither with welcome he might have come without the least danger to his perfon, and whither he was so often and humbly invited to come, on no other conditions, but to make him great and glorious, and leaving Delinquents, which he protected against Law and Reason, to the discretion of the great Judicature of the Nation, which would have been both a safe, a profitable, and ashort course for him to have yeelded unto, and faved him the labour of a dishonourable descending out of his dyning room, to dispute those differences with the States of the Kingdome in the Kitchin, and without fo many impertinencies, ambages, and fubterfuges wherewith he tolaces himfelf feemingly moving for authorizing of fit persons on both sides to debate the matter with freedome; a very fine way indeed, and about the wood, when

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he might have sate still in peace and quietnesse, and left the obliquities of the Church and State to those to whom they properly belong'd to be disputed, regulated, and set straight; whilst himself (without such an unneceffary and un-Kingly engagement) might have taken his pleasure in hunting the Buck, rather than to have neediesly all that Summer traversed his ground, through fo many Counties, in hunting after men to kill the best and most faithfull of his Subjects (could he have had the grace to have feen it) of his whole Kingdome. But then he comes to an other overture, that if on securing of such Treators as himtelfe should chuse, and the like fasety by him given to such as the Parliament shall design for a Treaty, then there shall be nothing wanting on his part, to the advance of the true Protestant Religion, the Lawes, the Liberty of the Subject, and just Priviges of Parliament; as to Religion, can any man beseeve that knew how hee was principled, that he would have yeelded to other than that formall and

and prelaticall Protestantisme which he had vowed to uphold? As to the Laws, should they have beene other than should still have lain under his negative power? As to the Libertyes of the Subject, what should they have been, more than the Militia his Sword then drawn against them would permit as he pleased to like or dislike? As to the Privileges of Parliaments, which he takes care to confine with his Epithite (Just) in the promse he makes, what should they have been, but as they might suite to the best advantage of the Crown, and his unlimitable Prerogative? then he concludes, that if that Proposition be rejected, he appeals to God and the World, that he had don his duty, which would absolve him from the guilt of that blood which he sayes must be spilt; aud I beleeve him, for it seems he meant then to spill blood (as he did afterwards, more than befitted a Christian King) rather than to have mist of the accomplishment of any of his resolutions, having ingraved on his Sword, aut Casar, aut nullus, Casar, or no body, to one M 2

of which he attain'd; his close feems to me both monitory and minitory, for he gives the Parliament to understand, how he was provided and what they were to trust to, in telling them aforehand, That What sover opinion other men have of our power, our provision of men, money and arm, are such, as may secure us from further violence, till it shall please God to open the eyes of our people; a very brave invitation to peace, with the Sword in his hand, to inforce it, as he pleased to have it, and with an Army of 6000 Horse, and 11000 Foot (as elsewhere he sayes he had ready to chastise the Rebels;) But look over to his Chapter, upon seizing of the Forts. Castles, Navy and the Militia, there he disclaimes to have had any other arms than those of the Primitive Christians (prayers and tears) against their Persecutors, where he is pleased (in a strange coliciadiction) to make that an Argument of his not raising the first War against the Parliament, though as it is well known at Edgehill he came with 20000 well armed men into the field, with a full refolution

folution to beat the Parliament to fitters; how you will peece these contradictions together, I leave as a task to you, it being beyond my power to reconcile such distant Asseverations.

Now to his Message of the 5th of Sept. in pursuance of the former, he sayes, That he never did, or ever intended to declare both our Houses of Parliament Traytors, or to set up our Standard against them, and yet at that instant had proclaimed my Lord of Esex, the Earl of Stanford, and all their Adherents Traytors which necessarily must be intended the Parliament, for they Commissioned Essex, and raised their defensive Army, which he fought with at Edgebill, and all along the competition stiles them Rebels; such wide and bold contradictions, that no man knows where to him; swhich puts me in mind what some of his own domestick servants have often averr'd, that they could not depend on any of his promises, or beleeve what he said, and fure I am, and enough there are of M3

no mean ranke and quality of his fervants yet living, and in beggery; can witnesse, and have sad cause to remember, that his Letters Patents full dearly paid for and under his Broad seal, could not protect any of them from reluming into his own hands, that he had a mind to, either to make use of them to his own advantage, or to confer them on others, as he was pleased, without other satisfaction, but with fruitlesse promises, that they should be considered. Next he goes on and fayes, that on the Parliaments revocation of their Declarations, as Traytors, or otherwayes for affifting of us, we will with cheerfullnesse upon the same day, recall our Proclamations, and take downe our Standart; but note then, it necessarily followes, that it could not be erected but onely against the Parliament, unlesse his meaning was to erect it against the Man in the Moon; but here you have the kernell of that nut, which stuck so fast in the Kings stomack; and was it not a very fine and equall proposition, to put the innocent,

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cent and the nocent into the ballance, the just with the unjust, and either to make War, or free fo many and hainous Delinquents that reforted unto him, together with those false and fugitive Lords and Commons, trusted by their Countreys, which by the laws of the Land ought not to have departed without leave of the Speaker, and that on urgent occasion? Bethink your self whether this Proposition suited either with Reason, Honour, Conscience, and the ancient usage and Presidents of Parliaments, or with the Kings Justice, to become the skreen to Delinquents of so high a strain: but to the close of this Message, where he conjures the Parliament againe to consider the bleeding condition of Ireland, and the dangerous condition of England, when as none but himself was guilty of that Phlebotomy, and he alone that first set them, and kept them a bleeding, fo long, as that to stanch the veyne, the State could not devise a better cure, than to let out his blood, which had let out so much throughout the three Kingdoms,

domes, as would have dyed the vast Ocean into crimson.

But briefly to his next Message of the 11th of Sept. 1642, where all the world may fee where the Remora lay that staid him from comming to the Parliament, untill he had provided for the indempnity of all those persons, &c. which he sayes were accounted Traytors to us, who according to their duty, their Oaths of Allegiance. and the Law, have appeared in defence of us their King and Liege Lord (whom we are bound in Conscience and Honor to preserve.) So that it here appeares plainly, that no other obstacles then stood in the way of his returne to the Parliament, but the absolute Indempnity of all that had appeared in his defence, according to their duty, oaths, & Law, as he would have it beleeved; his pretended fear of Tumults are not here in question neither any other material exception, but the indempnity of his Partizans, a goodly Honour and Conscience) could be have brought so great a party with Indemonity into London and to the Parliament, it seems then

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then he doubted not but to make his party good with, or without fighting, and what betweene their owne power, and his fraud, its plain that he thought in time he should be enabled to over-power the Parliament, and to carry all other things answerable to his will and hearts defire; but by what law could those fugitive Members depart the House, and flye to him? and by what Law could hee protect them which had falfified their Trust? was it their duty to run to him at a call, who before against his duty and his Oath ran from the Parliament, under subtersuges, and pretence of Tumults, and upon no other ground, but by his absence and noncurrence (as he was made to beleeve) to make the Parliament no more than a cypher and that then they neither could or durst act in a doyt without him? but having by this time seen his own errour, and that the Parliament would and did transact without him, and that in want of his concurrence the people concurr'd with them in the defence of the publick liberty; he then infifts

insists on no other scruple than Indempnity for all his party; and here we come to a pure peece of Non-sense, where he fayes, No other reason induced us to leave our City of London, but that with Honour and Safety wee could not stay there, nor to raise any force, but for the necessary defence of our person, and the Law, against levies in opposition to both: As to his leaving of the City, and the Parliament, that pretence is clearly evinc't, by his own former overture of comming to them on condition of the Parliaments withdrawing their Proclamations, against the Delinquents, and fugitive Members, but as to his raising of force for the necessary defence of his person and the Law, both the reason (if there be any) and coherence are at so wide and wild a distance, as that I beleeve the quaintest of his Secretaryes, or him that writ it, on a review of the Incongruity, would be ashamed to own his own work; and observe it for a knowne truth to all the Kingdome, did not he first raise a party of Cavaliers to assault the House, to beat and kill the

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poor petitioning people, before ever the Parliament had so much as a thought of raising one man, when himself was provided with 300 desperat Ruffians, fit and ready to attempt any bold Assassination? and what one man before himself began had offended him, that he of necessity must raise a force to defend his person and the Law? was it Law, when as at London he found himselfe deceived to raise a strength sufficient to quash the Parliament, and against the Legislative power it self, but he must run into the North, and round about half of his Kingdom to do it, and missing his ayms, to come at last and to often with flam's and overtures for a Treaty, which he never really meant, or intended, otherwise than in subtilty & his wonted fetches to decoy the Parliament and people into a belief of his deepe sense of the bleeding condition of the Kingdoms, of which no Prince Christian could be more carelesse, as it evidently appears by all his actions, examined in the right sense of his own meaning, as anon shall be manifestly demonstrated out of his own refusall

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refufall of the Parliaments petitions? As to the Levyes made by the Parliament in opposition to him and the Lawes, he might have remembred, that none made Levies either against him or the Law, more than his own lawlesse Will, and that the Parliament made no sooner Levies than it became them, to oppose his Levies, raised against them and the known Laws of the Land; and that notwithstanding all those specious and umbragious Messages sent to the Parliament for Peace and Act for commodation, tending to no other end than to rocke the Parliament a sleep, and by his then frequent placen tias to lull them into a flack and negligent remissnes, in raising defensive arms against his Forces, whilst himself the by protracting of time, might attract an fuch an Army as would inable him to no overpower both the Parliament, and am whatsoever Forces were (as he sayes) uni then in their march against him, which and he had no sooner drawn together, but the out of his confidence to have beatra tenthe Parliaments Army to peeces; bef not eight dayes before Edgehill fight wh

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he not onely utterly refused their Petion, which would have been presented to him by the mediation of the Earl of Dorset, (for he had a good space before resused all accommodation,) but sent Rupert to the Commissary Generall (who was to deliver it) to tell the Earl of Esex, then at Worceft fter, that he would not receive any more Petitions from him or any of the Parliament Rebels of them all: A known truth to many yet living, and fome of them sitting at present in Parliament, whereby it manifestly appears, that all his former and many Missives, under the umbrage of Peace, were mere dalliances, both ve to mock the Parliament, and to cosen the people into a belief of his reality and good meaning, when he meant nothing more than to bob the Parliament by cunning and secret fraud, s) untill he might ruine them by plaine ch and open force, and then to pursue those naturalized appetites, and arbia trary designes of his, which so long before he had cherished in his heart, which neither his Honour, Reason, and

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and his Conscience, (whereof so often he talks) could prevail with him to disgorge, untill their over-growth inforced him to an untimely vomit.

'Tis most true, that they which look on the first face of things, and heed only the outside of objects, without an intentive eye on their in-sides, are easily deceived; but such as will narrowly looke into all his Expresses, compared with his deeds, shall doutlesse soon finde, that this unhappy King was one of the deepest and boldest dissemblers, of any one Prince which the last Century hath produced; and I am prone to beleeve, that he took too much of the patterne of Lews th'eleventh of France, who was wont to fay, that he defired to leave his Sonne no other Learning, than Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare, he that knows not to dissemble, knowes not how to play the King; and it hath been feared, and by those which wisht him well, that he was too much verst in the principles of Machiavill, having in his life time practised, and since his death left behind him so many evidences

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evidences thereof, that many of the best heads have been induced to beleve, that he came not behind any of the 17: ALIAN Politicians of

this age.

But to take all these his three Messages together, considered by any discreet man, as their purport tends to one and the selfesame end, and the time when they were fent to the parliament, all of them, whilst he was most busie and sedulously studious, how and where to raise Forces both at home and abroad, and it evidently shews, that his intent in all his specious overtures of peace, were to no other end, than to befool the People and Parliament, which he then began to know would not be cosened, as having had sufficient experience of him; pra-Aise indeed he might (as he failed not) to continue to delude the vulgar beleef, and to keep in with the people; but he then found there was no good to be done on a Court of Parliament, for he perceived they meant not further to trust him, than they saw him; and to have yeelded to a treaty circumscribed with

with such large conditions, and so unequally hallanced, as to admit of fuch as he should send to treat with them, out of Parliament, which not unlike. ly would have been of those that had both deserted the Parliament and falfified their faith, which to have indempnified, and all other Delinquents as had repaired unto his assistance, (otherwise no peace with him) what effects could a I reaty produce, (so much upbraided (by his party) on the Parliament for refusing it) other than mockery? when himself knew, as well as themselves, that they would not yeeld unto such a motion, neither himself goe lesse than to take off all the Delinquents with impunity against all reason, law, and the antient presidents of all former Parliaments; that alone being the greatest breach of privilege that ever was offered to a Court of Parliament, and such a destructive project to the essence and being of Parliaments, as in the future took away all power and privilege from them, and necessarily conferr'd it on his own usurped Prerogative, his negative

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tive claim being no more, and scarce so much to enable him to doe in the future as he listed, when as every vulgar spirit knowes it for Law, that the King cannot, neither ever durst any of our Kings, rescue one Prisoner at the Bar, out of the hands of Justice, in any of the inferiour Courts of the Kingdome, ('Tis true, that Henry of Mon-mouth being a rude Prince, though after a tollerable King, came openly and with violence to the Kings Bench in Westminster Hall, and rescued Pognes his Servant, arraigned (for robbing and taking away the Kings Treasure) at the Bar; but the story tells us, that the Judges laid the Prince by the heels for his pains, and his Father the King thankt them for it.) much lesse then that this King should presume to rescue so many viperous Delinquents out of the justice of the great Judicature of the Nation, which all of common reading know have acted fundry times in such a power, as to depose severall of his Ancestors for their Tyrannies, and hanged many of their chiefe Instruments: Presidents which with good reason

reason he might have more timely remembred, and not have stood with his Sword in his hand to inforce so unjust, sensiesse and unreasonable a Proposition for a Treaty.

Observations on the Kings Pourtra-Eture.

He Kings Book, which hath flown abroad, and throughout the Kingdom, as it were between the wings of Mercuit, and hath so much taken in the opinion of the vulgar beliefe, and esteemed to be such an impregnable rampier, incirculating his innocency, that it hath been thought not affaultable; I confesse at the first sight thereof it took for a while, as his protestations formerly had done, in many apprehensions; but on a second consideration of the title (The Kings Image) with the dresse that is bestowed upon his Effigies in a posture of devotion, in imitation of David in his ejaculations to Heaven, furely I could not beleeve that such a peece of vanity was of the Kings designment, but the meer jugling

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ling devise of some hypocriticall or Mahometan Impostor, the better to stir up the People and vaine beholders to pitty him: But entring into the Body of the Book, and considering the choyle of the many Subjects whereof it treats, the whole contexture whereof hath already been sufficiently handled without mittens by a Gentleman of such abilities as gives place to none for his integrity, learning and judgment; yet on re-consideration of the whole (amongst others of his Chapters) coming to that of (listing of Armies) and in that to his Interrogations, Whose innocent bloud bath he shed? what Widowes or Orphants tears can witne fe against me? Doubtlesse were there no other evidence throughout all the whole book (as God knowes every page yeelds plenty of such impudencies) those two Interrogatories would be sufficient to prove him one of the bloudiest out-facers of truth that ever was known in the world. Passing by his own acknowledgment, that himhimselte first began the late Warre, and consequently guilty of all the innocent blood

blood spilt throughout the three Kingdomes, it would not be amisse to retort his own Interrogatories, and to aske wether there be any one Family or Kindred throughout three Kingdoms, that yeelds not a Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, or a Kinsman, whose tears have not cryed to Heaven for the infinity of blood spilt through his willfullnesse, or for the wounds, or losse of Limbs of so many throughout the Land we which see dayly haulting & crutching it in hospitalls, and in every of our streets; and hath there been no Widdowes or Orphans tears shed? or no complaints made to himselfe for the goods taken violently from them, and fireing of numberlesse habitations by his own mercileffe Souldiers Commissioned by himselfe, yea commanded to be put in execution, as it may be instanced in thousands of sad examples, yea by poor Widdowes crying and kneeling unto him for the rapines committed either in his owne fight, or by his permission, when they received no other answer, but his turning about from their lamentations, and

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and faying that he did it not, when it lay in his power, and by his oath and duty he stood bound to see it redrest, which he never was knowne to hav e done, but to slight whatsoever complaints were addrest unto him of that nature? And was he ever knowne to spare either friend or foe, where money was to be had to prosecute his perfidious and bloody designs, which he took not? Amongst thousands of prelidents of this nature, did he spare Mr. Ascham, a knowne Royalist, and one that assisted him in his bloody Wars, when he fent Rupert, that plundering kinsman of his, to risle the Gentlemans house at Layford in the County of Berks, who took from him ten thousand pounds at once in ready money, and out of his bounty (whereof he was very seldome knowne to be over liberall) fent back the tenths thereof as a divident between his two unmarried daughters, and that also on great sute made unto him, and the tears of the Gentlewomen themselves that he would be pleased to consider their distressed condition? with what N3 face

face could he so much as pretend to innocency, or appeal to the witnesse of any Widowes or Orphans tears, when tis openly knowne, that he never spared any mans blood in his wrath, who was in arms against him, otherwise than for his own ends, and safety of fuch of his owne side as the Parliament had in their custody? when he had granted out Commissions of Oyer and Determiner to his chief lustice Heath and others to hang all such as had opposed his Tyranny in taking the Parliaments part, untill he was induced to retract those Commissions in regard that two for one of his owne might happily by his own President have gone to the Gallowes? and doe not his own Letters to the Queen confirm his resolution to take money wherefoever he could find it, when he tells her that his only want was mony, which good Swords and Pistolls would fetch in? and hath not the practice of all his barbarous Warres verified as much as he therein sooths up himselfe, to be supplyed either by hooke or crooke? If no innocent blood can be found

found to witnesse against him, let the ghosts of 200000 poor Innocent souls, barbaroully butchered in Ireland fpeake; if no Widowes or Orphans tears can witnesse against him, let the dum stones of those demolished palaces of Rasing, Ragland, Belvoyer, and infinite others speak, where those formidable garrisons of his were made to the terror and damage of all men in their vicinity, and whose reducing cost so much innocent blood. Neither let those great Lords and prime Gentlemen of this Kingdome, whose Lands and totall Inheritances are lately voted to be sold, in reparation of the publick losses, and in defence of the generall interest of the Commonwealth (changed) when it could not otherwise subsist, but by rooting up his tyrannous monarchy be filent; And if no other tears of Widdowes & orphans can be found to accuse him, let his ambition, injustice, oppression, rapine, and bloodshed speak, let that vast number of Gentlemen which have made their compositions (for syding with him in his unjust and destructive Wars) N4

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Warres at Goldsmiths hall, speak of be silent, whose Wives and Children, live in want, and happily not without tears enough for the indigence whereunto they are reduced through his on-

ly means.

Now If all these sad instances be the effects and Trophies of his seventeene years reigne, which he boasts that the people enjoyed in such measure of peace, justice and plenty, as all the neighbour Nations have either admired or envied; and if this his Pourtra-Aureand Image be that monument which his friends, since his death, or rather before, had prepared in readinesse, and stolen the pattern from Mecha, and to hang it in that his ayrery Mahometan regality, supported by this their impostured Loadstone, whereby to present his sacred memory, in his Solitudes, to posterity, furely it may be suspected, they were not to exactly their Crafts-masters, or so much his friends as foes, to Saint him before his time, and in such a thrine, as necessarily must render him to future times (infamous) an imparralelld

ralelld dissembler, and a greater deceiver than Mahomet ever was, and of the number of those of whom the Prophet * David makes mention, which speake peace to their Neighbours, when mischief was in their hearts, (as all the world knows he hath too often practifed to his people and Parliaments) when as it would have much better became him to have left out his many Pharaficall justifications, and to have remembred, that he which covereth his sins shall not prosper, tut who so con- Prove be fessetb and forsaketb them shall have mercy; this had been the better way to have invited others to have spoken lesse and more favourable of him, than now in conscience they ought, having fuch an artificiall and fac'd peece of impudent justifications, exposed and fet forth purposely to deceive the poore people, and to affront truth, and the evident managery of his bloody and licentious reigne, which necessarily to the Worlds end will give an occasion to rippe up his life, and shew to the present and after ages, what a Tombe these jugling impoftors

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sters have erected for him; and with what Epitaphes of impiety, injustice, blood and rapine, it will be adorned, instead of that glory wherewith they intended to perpetuate to his memory; though sufficient and enough hath already been written, in discovery of this grand Imposture, and to every peece and parcell thereof so much answered as may satisfie all men in their right witts; as to others that are out of them, and have a defire to be cosened out of their understandings, I think an Asian beliefe would better fit them than an European Faith, a gallymaufried Alcoran, rather than a true and rationall Remonstrance, drest with no other Rethorick than the naked truth; and shall men be silent when they see it overborne with the multitudinous denyalls, flams, and falshoods of his defeated and malitious parties?

Observa-

Observations on the Kings going into the Scotch Army.

The Kings disguized going from Oxford into the Scotch Army then at Newark, as it was one of his last shifts, so was it a very shrewd one (confidered as he had laid the design) That he went first to them was doubt -lesse more out of an apprehension and confidence he had to gain them to his assistance, than out of any great good will he bore towards them, but fure it was out of an inveterate hatred he bare towards the Parliament, the evidence of this truth manifestly appears by the Kings Letter to Ormand, Number 27. from Oxford, April the 3d. 1646. I shall present you with the principall part thereof, at your own leisure you may peruse the whole, viz.

Having lately received very good security, that we and all that do adhere to us, shall be safe in their Persons, Honours and Consciences in the Scotch Army, and that they shall really and effe-Etually joyn with us, and with such as will

come unto us, and joyn with them, for our preservation, and skall imploy their Army and Forces to assist us to the procuring of a happy and well-grounded Peace for the good of us and our King. doms in the recovery of our just Right, me have resolved to put our selves to the bazard of passing into the Scotch Army now lying before Newarke, and if it shall please God that we come safe thither, we are resolved to use our best endeavour with their assistance, and With the conjunction of the Forces under the Marquesse of Montrosse, and such of our Well-affected Subjects of England as shall rise for us, to procure it may be an honourable and speedy Peace with those who hitherto refused to give ear to any means tending thereunto; of which our resolution, we hold it necessary to give you this advertisement, as well to satisfie you, and all our Councell and loyall Subjects with you, and to whom we will that you communicate these our Letters; yet failing in our earnest and sincere endeavours by a Treaty to put an end to the miseries of these our Kingdomes, we esteemed our self obliged, to leave

leave no probable expedient unattempted to preserve our Crowne and Friends from the Vsurpation and Tyranny of those, whose actions declare so manifestly their designs to overthrow the Laws and happy established Government of this Kingdome; And now wee have made known to you our resolution, we recommend to your speciall care the disposing and managing our affairs on that side, as that you shall conceive most for our Honour and Service, being confident the course we have taken (though with some bazard to our person) will have a good influence on that our Kingdome, and defer, if not altogether prevent, the Rebels transporting of Forces from them into that Kingdom; And we desire you to satisfie all our well-affected Subjects on that side, of our Princely care of them, whereof they ball receive the effect, as soon as God shall enable us.

Observations.

We have here a most quaint piece of Machiavilisme, moulded under the Kings wonted and specious pretences

tences of the care he had for the good of his Subjects, in procuring an honourable peace, and for recovery of his just Rights from those (as he sayes) which hitherto refused to give way to any means tending thereunto: But observe how he intended to accomplish this peace, and to put an end to the miseries of the Kingdom, and you. shall evidently see, that it was out of an affurance he had to win the Scots to side with him in a new War, and in causing them to break their Faith plighted to the Parliament, when at that very time they were to receive 300000 l. towards their entertainment; this being but a piece of his design, for to that assistance he flattered himself to receive from the Scots, he also builds on that mercilesse Army under Montrosse, and such of his well-affected Subjects of the English as shall rise for us, (they are his own words) Speak your Conscience, was not this a fine plot think you, to procure an honourable and speedy peace, when his ends were as visible as the Sun shine to continue the Warre, and to pollute

pollute the Land with more blood under his wonted umbragious pretences of peace, and (as he fays) to recover his just rights? and what were those rights, more than by a new Stratagem to overmaster all under his power? or at least to enforce such a peace, as might suite to his own desires? then he comes to fay that he hath left no means unattempted, and I beleeve it in his own sence, and that was in the conjunction of both those Armies, and his inviting of all his well-affected Subjects in England to rife for us; and in pursuance of this deep plot he commands Ormand to communicate his Letters to the Councell there, and to all his Well-affected Subjects of Ireland, that they might know how carefull he was of them, by the confidence he had in that course, and what a good Influence it would have on that Kingdom, viz. in the deferring, if not to the utter disappointing of the Rebels transporting of supplyes to the relief of the distressed poor Protestants of Ireland, and defites that all his Well-affected Subjects there should take notice of his

his Princely care of them, whereof they should receive the effects so soon as God should enable him; a very Princely care indeed if you mark it: but you may here see that God would not be mockt, neither enable him in his mischievous projects. Speak freely, whether this King meant well, or acted like a Christian in his treacherous endeavour to divert in what poffibly he could devise the Parliaments Forces, sent for the assistance of their poor Brethren of Ireland, when as he had so often protested, and born the Parliament in hand how desirous and carefull he was to expedite their supplyes thither, and by an Act of his own Assent had impowred the Parliament therewith, which here againe (in his wonted language) he calls Rebels, to speed their recruits against those which he then stiles his Well-affected Subjects: On the consideration of the premisses, I pray telme, where is that Sophister to be found, that can handfomely make an Apology for such foul dissimulations? If you cannot finde any, I will point you to himselfe, as you

you may see it in his Pourtraicture, Cap. XXII. on his going into the Scotch Army, where he sayes, That what Providence denyes to force, it may grant to prudence; necessity is now my chiefest Counsellour, and commands me to study my safety by a disquized withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring on their Loyalty which

first began my troubles.

Here you have an Apology of his owne, though furely it is a very poore one; where first I pray make your own judgement, whether the Scots began his troubles, or he theirs? if you doubt on't, Straffords, and the late Arch Bishops Ghosts will witnesse, that he would inot fuffer them to be at quiet; But what prudence was that when he could no longer stand up to infest three Kingdomes at once, then to put himself on the precipice of necessity, and for his safety to goe into the Scotch Army? and why not first into his Throne in the Parliamene House at Westminster? from whence he fled, as from a Serpent, and by a thousand most humble Petitions, and

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motions, was invited to returne with welcome, untill he had wilfully and most perversly made himself uncapable of acceptance, and so imbrued himself and the three Kingdoms with the loathsome leprosie of Innocent blood, that with Vzziab he had made himselse more sit for a Cloyster, than Palace. I pray speake your owne judgement, whether this his prudence was any other than an indefatigable pursuance to fulfill his own will, in re-involving the Kingdomes in a more direfull War, than he had done before? and could Providence doe lesse than to deny him safety? when all his studies were devoted to find out any means to disturbe the Kingdomes peace and fafety, and to destroy Parliaments, whereby to make himself an absolute Monarch, and of a King of Gentlemen and Freemen, to become a Tyrant over so many inanimated Slaves; you may without injustiee avouch it, that none of his courses were like to thrive, when they were continually known to be accompanied with a spirit of errour, and that the effects and ends of studying his

his own fafety chiefly consisted in malice, and laying of new snares to catch others in , in which Providence thought it most fit, that himselfe should first be taken.

Observations on the Irish Rebel-

T I is without all question, that the King was more indulgent towards I the Irish blood-thirsty Rebells than suited with his publick professions and often protestations; I shall not fay so much in projecting that horrible Massacre of the English there, as in protecting those Rebels after the fact was committed, having (to use his own expression) such visible designs and ends of his owne, as from the very beginning of the War, and before, to make use of their service against the English and their Representative, as that in any impartiall eye could neither look handsome or suitable to the Religion he professed. To treat of the originall ground of this tiling

rising, or to point out the Author and the authority by which those vile Caytiffes enterprised on so barbarous an act, is more than I shall heere deliver, for this is as yet a hidden peece of villany, although this I can affirm from the mouth of a Gentleman well borne, though I dare not say of any great credit, that before the Kings going into SCOTLAND, and before the flight of the Lord Iermin. he being then a kind of an attendant on the Queen, and having many times admission into Master Iermins Chambers, averres, that he saw nine severall Commissions sealed in Master Iermins lodging, for so many Regiments to be commanded by the like number of Colonels in Ireland, whereof one was to Colonel Planket, but with what seals the Gentleman hath not declared, neither do I believe that he was able to distinguish between the Broad and the Privy seale: But this is most manifestly knowne, that the Rebels for a long time, and at the very beginning of their rising styled themselves the King and Queens Ar-

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my, and that they had good authority for doing that which they had done; and this is most perspicuous, that the King himselfe was ashamed to be seen or to own his owne worke, and with what instructions and Commissions he had impowred the Marquesse of Ormand, as in his own private Letter to him evidently appears, Number 22. December 13. 1644. from

Oxford, viz.

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I hope my publick dispatch will give you sufficient instructions and power, yet I have thought it necessary, for your more incouragement in this necessary worke, to make this addition with my own hand; as for Poynings act, I referre you to my other Letters, and for matter of Religion, though I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the paper which Browne gave you, yet I must command you to give him, my Lord Muskery, and Plunket particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it there could be no peace, and that sticking to it, their Nation in generall, and they in particular, should have comfort in what they have done

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and to shew that this is more than words. I do promise them, and command you to see it done, that the Penal Statutes against Roman Catholicks Shall not be put in execution, the Peace being made. and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, when the Irish gives me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this Rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I will consent to the repeal of them by Law, but all those of Appeals so Rome and Premunire must. stand; all this in Cipher you must impart to none, but to those three already named, and that with injunction of strict secrecy; so avaine recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the Peace of Ireland, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last Letter, I relle

Observations.

Wee have here in the first place, a maniscipation of the Kings close and serpentine windings, in the next his injunction of strict secrecy to Ormand, that

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that that which he had written in Cipher, should not be imparted to any, but Muskery, Browne, and Plunket, three of the most desperate Rebels in that Kingdom, which cannot possibly stand with the Kings innocency, neither with the breach of his faith with the Parliament and people, or with God in point of his protestations to maintain the true Protestant Religion, where it is evident, that he plaid fast and loofe on all hands as best suited with his necessary affairs and worke, (as he calles it) all his ends tending to this only center, to gaine the Irish Rebels to his affistance against the Parliament at any rate, though to the prophanation of Religion, and his breach of faith with God and man, as instantly you may see fearfully protested, at the receiving the Sacrament at Christ-Church in Oxford 1643. at the hands of the Bishop of Armagh, where, immediately before his communicating, (he beckoning to the Bishop for a short forbearance) used these following expressions, viz.

My Lord, I espie here many resol-

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The Life and Reign of

world the resolution I do now make; I have to the uttermost of my power prepared my Soule to become a worthy receiver, and may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true resormed Religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy dayes of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery; I blesse God, that in the midst of these publique distractions, I have still liberty to communicate, and may this Sacrament be my damnation if my heart joyne not with my lips in this Protestation.

Observation.

Having seriously considered this strange Protestation of the Kings, on the the taking of the Sacrament, with the imprecation of his damnation, if his heart joyned not with his lips, as I compared it with his letter after to Ormand, together with his many other Protestations I professe in the faith of a Christian, I stood amazed what to think of him, and his Religi-

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on; considered againe, as it was taken before a publick audience, and yet the very next yeare after, he makes no scruple or conscience to promise to Ormand the repeal of all laws against Irish Papists; and likewise in his Letter to the Queen of the 9th. of March 1645. he gives way to her to promise in his name, the taking away of all penall Laws against the English Papists, fo that they shall inable him to doe it; where it seemes he makes no manner of account of a Parliament, without which, as already is said, never any king of England either made or repealed any one Law, furely tis heer very plaine, that he understood not the extent of his own power, neither the nature of the English Soveraignty, or that he was disposed not to know it, but to rule without Parliaments, provided, that by the assistance of Papists he might be impowred to do it, and then that his will should be a Law to the people; just Tyrant like, stat pro ratione voluntas; but take the rest of his Letter to Ormand into your more

more mature consideration, and then happily it will astonish you, where he hastens him to clap up the Peace with the Rebels, which so soon as it shall be accomplished (he vowes bec verba, in his Letter to him Number 23 January 7.1644.) All the earth shall not make me breake it; but not doubting of a peace, I must againe remember you to presse the Irisfor their speedy assistan e to me here, and their friends in Scotland, my intention being to draw from themes into Wales (the peace once concluded) as many as I can of my armed Protestant subjects; and I desire the Irish would send as great a body as they can to land about CVMBER-LAND.

Observation.

Here againe we have a sufficient proof of this most unfortunate Princes inflexibility, his resolutions once fixt, there were no hopes of their alteration (they are his ownewords) all the earth shal not make me break it, though such resolutions breake him in pieces,

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and fure we are many thousands of his poor innocent Subjects through this only fault of his obstinacy. Tis an infallible truth, that the wilfull man never wants woe, but when one mans perverse will shall be the cause of the destruction of multitudes, that's a fearfull judgement and a remedilesse calamity. We have allfo in this Letter an evident testimony, what an inveterat hatred he bare towards the English Nation, and those Scots which took their parts, which he hated beyond belief, and all others which never fo little fell a thwart his inclinations, where I shall crave your favour to tell all of you that fided with him, (haply more for your own ends than out of conscience) for it is most certaine, that he made no other accompt of you, but to sarisfie his own hust, in your destruction, whatsoever he pretended, and to prove this, I will tell you a true Itory, and it is this; On the death of the late Earle of Northampton, whose Commands in one of his Forrests he presently gave away, of which Endimion Porter understanding, prest him that

that the young Earle his sonne, whose father was then newly slaine in his service, was fit to have that conferred on him than on any other, on which check of Porters he replyed, and hath the Earle done more than became him, to dye for his King? This is no fable, but a knowne truth, whereby you may guesse how he esteemed of you all, as if his Subjects were a sort of Sheep ordained to the slaughter, for the obtaining of his lustful pleasure, and not him, as the Shephard ordained to preserve them as that flock committed to his care and charge from God himselfe; you may instantly find this very story verified and set out unto the life in his former Letter, in which with what earnestnesse he presses O R-MOND, to hasten over the Irish to his affistance, yea to bring over as many of his armed Protestants to land in Wales, as might inable him to overpower both nations to his absolute domination and revenge. A most brutish resolution, and of purpose to reset all his Kingdoms on a light fier, in fetting

ting of Protestants against Protestants, and Papists against both; you may further observe, how his displeasure grew to be so implacable against the Scots his native Subjects, and to lay his designe to destroy them together with his English Subjects, and the reason of this you may perfectly see, in his Letter to Ormand, Number 25. Feb. 25. 1647. viz. I do therefore command you to conclude a Peace with the Irish whatsoever it cost, so that my Protestant Subjects there may be secured, and my regall Authority preserved; but for all this you are to make the best bargaine you can, and not discover your enlargement of power, till you needs must, and although I leave the Managing of this great and necessary work, intirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poynings act, for such bils as shal be agreed upon there, and the present taking away of the penall Lawes against Papists by a Law, will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargaine, so that freely and vigorously they ingage themselves in my assistance, against my Rebells of England and Scotland; for which which no condition can be to hard, not being against Conscience and Honour.

Observation.

You may first observe in this Letter the large extent of the Kings Conscience and Honour, in the next place his seeming care for the preservation of his Protestant Subjects in Ireland, with a purpose rather to make use of them against their Brethren of England, than to leave them in Ireland for their own defence, where their service was much more necessary, than to be imployed in the slaughtering of the English, with the hazard of their own lives, and for no other end, but to advance their own prodigious, and bloody designs; for observe it in the former Letter, he manifestly declares his resolution, to call them over to his affistance, and heere he tells'it, that as to the Irish, if the taking away of Pognings act, and the penall Statutes against Papists by a Law will do it, he shall not thinke it a hard bargaine, provided they freely and

vigorously engage against his English and Scotish Rebels, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against Conscience and Honour; here you may safely aver is one of the strangest Consciences, and an Honour so illimitable, as that I am confident, the subtillest Logitian in his Oxford Garrison, would be driven to his ne plus ultra, to give either of them a right definition, that close of not being against Conscience or Honour (considered with his former commands to Ormond) without doubt is one of the finest peeces of Non-sense that ever I have feen; and furely had I been in the Marquesses place, that very restriction in the close, would have made me to forbear the putting in execution of any of his commands, for there was not a syllable of them all, but in due construction was, or ought to have been against his Conscience and Honour; sure it was point blank oppofite to his many Protestations, and that fearfull imprecation of his Damnation on his receiving the Sacrament

at Christ-Church; and doubtlesse in my understanding (all parts of this Letter considered) the very last clause of not being against Conscience or Ho-nour, would have been sufficient warrant for me, to have sate still and done nothing towards the concluding of lo Irreligious and dishonourable a Peace; But I beseech you look upon the Kings ends, and you shall find them to be no other, than in a brutish manner to set all his Subjects together by the ears, to kill and make havock of one anothea, English against English, Scots againt Scors, and Irilh against both, so that he might thereby accomplish his own pernitious designes; And in the mean time to make no manner of scruple or Conscience of spilling of Innocent bloud, & without the least remorse of that horrible Massacree of 200000 of the English Nation, butchered by those barbarous Villains for whom he was so solicitous, to defend them, and to procure a happy peace for them whatsoever it cost; and with fo many wiles and fetches he had so often endeavoured to engage them to joyne with

with Ormand against Inchiquine and the Scots, as that you may evidently see in the Postscript of his Letters to him, number 24. 1644. from Oxford, as also in his Commissions to Montrosse, first to ruine the Scots, and after to come for his assistance into

England.

Now that you may further understand what Conscience he made of bloodshed, and what care he had to preserve his Subjects in Peace and Prosperity, I shall tell you another story from the mouth of one of his principall Commanders (Gerrardby name) who upon the rendition of his Oxford Garrison eame to London, and made his addresses to Sir John Merricke at Esex house, desiring him that he might have the Honour to kiffe my Lord of Effex his hands, Sir John told him, That he had not behaved himself worthy of the name and honour of a Soldier, to be admitted to such a favour, having barbarously burnt his Lordships house at Lamphey, together with most of the Gentlemens houses of the County of Pembroke, and destroyed the whole Country even to desolation; Gerrard replies in his usuall Oath, God damme me Uncle, if I did more than the King from Gardisse by two several Letters strictly commanded me to doe; and then to march to him with all my Army, for which I have his Majesties owne Letters for my Warrants Here is an excellent Conscience, and care, in a King bound by his Oath to preserve his Subjects from violence, and yet commanding to destroy them with fire and rapine.

Sir, in a few words more, would you be pleased, on an exact perusall of all this most unhappy Kings Declarations and transactions, considered as you shall alwayes finde them, sweetned and gilded over with the plausible pretences, and specious professions of his love and care towards all his Subjects (when he meant nothing leffe) and many of them confirmed with Imprecations; I say compare them diligently with his actions, and the Letters of his own hand writing (which of other evidences are the best keyes to unlock the fecrets of mans heart

heart) not leaving out that Posthumus Imposture of his Pourtraicture, and I am confident that the contrariety, distimulation, hypocrifie, and juglings you shall every where finde in them, interwoven with a Pharifaicall justifying of himself, and defending all his actions, will astonish you, as they have done me; For in all the late horrid War and bloudshed, throughout the three Kingdomes, you shall find it for an infallable truth, that he who spake and insisted so much on his Honour and Coscience for many years together, never made any Conscience, or was truely sensible of all the blood spilt either in his own behalf, or against him, more than of one wicked * Mans, though condemned *The Earl by Law, and the just judgement of of Strat-a Court of Parliament, and this man ford. also acknowledged by himself to be utterly unworthy to bear any publick office in the Common-wealth, and untill God in his I uffice turnd the power of his Sword to nothing, then indeed, and as I may judge (really) he ever now and anon deplores the

the sad condition of his Kingdomes, but never sincerely (as I am bound to beleeve) till he had don his worst, and all that possibly he could invent to ruine the Parliament, and to destroy all those that stood up in their defence; And towards his last, his principall labour tended to little more than in pittying of himselfe, and complaining of the hard measure offered him during his restraint, that he was not admitted to a Personall Treaty with the Parliament for the procuring (as he would have it beleeved) of a happy peace, when in all his Treatyes and specious overtures from the first to the last, his hand was well known to be in one plot or other how to get himselfe. out of that soyle and Labyrinth wherein he had wilfully intangled himfelfe and the Kingdomes, being still one and the felf same man, justifying himself, and standing on his own innocency with the Pharisee, but little of the Publican, Godbe mercifull to me a sinner; still in his wonted inflexibility to the last, utterly resusing to signe (onely) Four Bils for the publick securuy

rity; continuing his usuall pretences that they were against his Conscience and Honour; When as all the Kingdome long since knew him to be preingaged to the Queen, and that by one word of her mouth, both his Honour and Conscience would easily have been dispenc'd withall: This I may truly and further affirm for a piece of a miracle, that somewhat before Gods just judgements overtook him (though not without a long conflict) he acknowledged himself guilty of all the War, and not without intreaties to a noble Person, on the first motion for a Treaty in the I fle of Wight, That the Parliament would forbear to charge all the guilt of the blood spile throughout the Kingdomes on his only score, and on that condition he should not be so uncivill, as to impute the least guilt thereof on them; they were his own words, for that was a feare which much troubled him would be charged upon him, and well he might fear it, when his own Conscience was a witnesse against him; but in the mean time, suffer me to ask you

you, how shall Almighty God be satisfied for so much bloud causefly and willfully spilt throughout three Kingdoms, whose wrath cannot be appeased, neither the Land be cleansed, untill expiation be made for the bloud of one man, by the shedding of his blood which was the murtherer? furely then we cannot determine, what accompt Almighty God will yet require at their hands which have been principall actors with the King in this bloody tragedy (though some of them, as he hath done, have paid their debts, to Nature, and not a few by way of Composition) yet they also have just cause to fear that there is an accompt not yet cleared, which will be call'd upon: This I shall adde by the way of Question, how and by what Fate this most unfortunate Prince came to be so overpowred with the Inchantments of a Woman, betwixt whom and himselfe, it is well known. a good space after their Inter-marriage, there were many jarres, and continued fallings out, and yet at last she along to become his Oracle for the léa-

leading on of all his designes; In so much as he durst not offend her in the least punctilio, or to transact any thing of never so little moment without her good liking, and approbation, and so much to dote on her, as not to permit the Prince to stir a foot, or to undertake anything, but by her only direction, such an absolute power and, command had this Queene gained over him and his affections; we may put the Quærie farther, why otherwise than by her Counsell, he first took away the Prince from his Guardians, and not long after the Duke of Torke, and to send them beyond Sea, unlesse it were out of an apprehension, that in imitation of former Prefidents, this Parliament might Crowne the one or the other Brother, instead of the Father, who had been so disastrous to the Nation, as divers old presidents of the like nature might probably induce him to suspect out of his own guiltinesse of his misgovernment? as for instance the dethroning of Edw. the second by the Parliament for his misgovernment and bloody. reign

reigne, and the advancing (in his life time) of his Son Edward the third, as also the deposing of Richard the second for his Tyranny, and the Parliaments setting up of Rullingbrooke; his Cosen German in his room; Presidents which doubtlesse hee deeply apprehended and feared, which to prevent'tis most probable he sent them out of the Kingdome, though to his own, and the utter undoing of those Innocent Princes, which he had fo far engaged in his, bloody quarrell, that they became dyed in the same colour with their willfull Father. I shall now present you with a proof of the former affertion out of the Kings own Letter to the Prince from Newcastle Number 28. 1646. viz. Charls, This is rather to tell you where I am in health, than at this time to direct you in any thing, I having so fully wrote to your Mother what I would have you to doe, whom I command you to ebey in every thing, except Religion, concerning Which, I am confident she will not trouble you; and see you goe not any whither, Without hers or my particular directions.

Observation.

Here you may evidently see, by what Star not only himself and all his af-fairs were guided, but that his Sonne must be tied up, not to do any thing, or move, but by his Mothers or his owne particular directions; a very strange obligation laid on a Sonne, to be bound to such an absolute obedience; as necessarily conduced to his utter undoing, when as no man knowes whether a Wife and a Mother, which had such a laritude of power over the Father and the Sonne, would not be tampering with a Prince (even in the point of Religion) of so tender years as rendred him fit for any impression, and to be indoctrinated with fuch principles as well concerning Religion, as others best suitable to her own designes. But I beseech you judge of the following texts, and tell me whether they fuite not with this most unhappy Kings disposition, & the wayes whereinto the inflexibility of his nature lead him to perseve-il rancel rance, in pursuance of his own destru-

He that speaks unrighteous things cannot be hid, neither shall vengeance when it is punished passe by him: For inquisition shall be made into the Counsel's of the ungodly, and the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord for the manifestation of his wicked deeds. Wisd. 1.8,9.

A Sinful man Will not be reproved, but findeth an exeuse according to his will: A man of Counsell will be considerate, but a strange and a proud man is not daunted with fear, even when of himselfe he hath done mithout Counsell.

Ecclef. 32. 17. 18.

Eut I have now little more to addresse unto you, yet more than I would, had not your provocations amounting to a plaine challenge invited me to answer your many virulent complaints, wherein I have inserted very little more than what you may find expresly laid downe either in the Kings owne Letters or Declarations, and with no other comments (as to the Observations) but such as necessarily arise

arise out of the expresses themselves; neither to any other ends, (as to the first part of my Reply, but for the clearing of truth, and to shew out unto you both the constitution of our late most unhappy King, and the manner and condition of all other Kings; I could have sent you more, and God knows more terrible, bloody and barbarous, but this is enough, though I say not to convince you, (for that would be no other than lavare Æthiopen) but to let you know how much you have been mistaken in the late King, a Prince doubtlesse which was much too dark for every ones understanding, and too hard for most of his Councel of State, whom he trusted. with the mannagery of his greatest both deligns and fecrets; though it be most true, that how tenacious and close soever he was in carrying on that arbitrary worke to inflave the Nation, yet God in his mercy would not that they should be so secretly hidden, but that he had appointed a time when they should be revealed and manifested to the World, as we all know they were

were at Naseby and elsewhere, according to our blessed Saviours own oracle Mat. 12.2. For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, neither hid

which shall not be knowne.

God knowes, and so may you on your better consideration; that I have made use of nothing but authentick authority, or took up any passage on bare trust, neither with the least intention to injure the memory of him who is at rest, but only in vindication and manifestation of truth, and to make that more visibly knowne to you, which long since hath not been unknowne to many, which happily if they would might speak more, and that as this most unfortunate Prince was of all others most his owne enemy, so had providence decreed it, that he should be most injurious to his friends, a most implacable enemy to Parliaments, and utterly averse to all partnership in government, other than Hers which was the principall instrument of his ruine, the undoing of his posterity, and the lamentable destruction of three flourishing Kingdoms. As

As to the present Government, and change of the Royalty, or any other of your impetuous exclamations, with the exceptions you take to the present Form, different from the forms of ancient Parliament, and as it was so lately altered, without King, Lords, and the major part of the excluded Commons, and that those which now sit at Westminster, are no other than usurped powers acting in Tyranny, as all of your party spares not to belch out both in private and publick, I shall instantly give you both a short and satisfactory auswer to every of them; and first to the Government, which you know to be gotten by Conquest, and as heretofore I have told you, by the same weapon wherewith the King intended to make it absolutely Monarchicall, and A la Francoys As to the difference between the old and this new Form of Parliament, I answer, that the King himself was the first projector, both in lessening, altering and laming of the Parliament, witnesse his taking into his Councell of State the Earles of

of Hariford, Esex, Bath, the Lords Say, St. Maur, Falkland, and Culpenper, all of them known to be the most noted Common-wealths men of both Houses, within two moneths of the Parliaments sitting down, and within one year after to corrupt neer the moity of the Members of both Houses, to make up his Mungrel Parliament at Oxforá, of set purpose to confuse and ruine all Parliaments by themselves. As to the late purging of the Houses, it is acknowledged that in the midst of such a confusion as was both raised, cherished and somented by the King himself, and the Malignant party, it was done by the power of the Army, and as I take it on this ground, that the major part of both Houses voted for the readmittance of the King on such condition which himself refused, which the leffer and more forefeeing part well understood would in the end come to no other issue, than the feeting him up into his old power, so to enable him anew to embroyle the Kingdomes, having so long before engaged the Prince in his Quarrell, and

and disciplin'd him in his designes, in somnch as no other hopes were then lest the Parliament, but either a perpetuating of the War and more bloodshed, or the invassalage of the Nation, which necessarily would be the consequence, on the admittance either of the Father or the Sonne; upon these grounds 'tis confest, that the Soldiery ended the controversie, in assisting the weaker party in Parliament, though doubtlesse the more able in judgement and forefight of the future evills and calamities which in all probability might and would befall the Nation; which to prevent, on the evidence of the Kings obstinacy, it was resolved to remove the Effects, by taking away the Cause, in calling the principall Author of all the former bloodshed to his publick tryall, to stop which issue it was farther resolved to cut him off, together with his whole posterity, and to cast that pilot overboard, that not more out of ignorance than wilfulnesse, would obstinately have sunke the Ship of the Publick, in the vast Ocean of his Prerogative, had it not been

been timely rescued, and warp't into the safe Harbour of a Republick, and in change the Regall Government into a Commonwealth, as you now see it established, by power, and by the same power, probable it is they will uphold it, which as it is commonly conceived, was the true state and managery of that businesse Where you may observe it, as a very remarkeable event, that even the major part of of both Houses which had stood so constant to the trust of their Countries, to the very Vote of No more Addresses, and were inclined to readmit the King (as we may beleeve by Gods just judgement) were taken away by force, as the King himselfe by fraud had long before drawne away so many of the Members, purposly to lame and weaken all Parliaments in the future.

Sir, These are passages of a very transcendant nature, and too high for our understanding, and we know Gods ways and works are unsearchable, yet as the * Wife man tells us, There is nothing next under the Sun, and is there any thing whereof is may be faid, see, this

this is new? it bath be en already if old time, and was before us: howfoever, when you have spoken the worst you can of those which now sit in Parliament, you cannot deny but the most of them are of the old legall Election, and the relicts of the old Form, they which have been the cause of the maiming, or lessening the number and quality of the old Form, you may thanke them for it, and not blame those that remaine faithfull to their trust, for some kinde of Government the people must have, and you evidently see, that God hath given them both Courage to stand fast to the last, and power to enable them to act as they do, which as heretofore I have told you wil either bend you to obedience, or breake you in your resistance. As to the Injustice wherewith you charge them, and the Tyranny you so much exclaim against, I take not upon me to be fo much their Champion, as to defend every of their actions, or any Injustice, of which not unlikely some of them may be guilty; for where power is invested, faulte there may be, and foule ones too; yet this much

much may be faid in their defence, that those of known integrity, fail not to look into the demeanour of the faul ty, and by severe punishment to make them examples of Justice; I shall say no more, but that should they faile in doing righteousnesse, Judgement stands at their owne doores, and the same God which gave them the power they now have, will as foon devest them of it, as he bequeathed it unto them, and * Samuel will tell them; If you doe wickedly you shall be consumed. both you and your King. Now Sir, for a close, I shall onely tell you, that ic sufficeth me and all sober spirits (that having thus long lived free from bloodshed and plunder under this Governmenr, which so lately under the Kingly power the whole Nation felt to their great grief and forrow) it behoves us then that we all rest content with Gods good will and pleasure, and leave this great change to him, as a worke of his own, which, I may say with Gamaliel, If it be not of God it will surely sall, but if from him, he will establish it, in spite of all these which shall with stand it: tis most

* 1 Sam.

most true, that the Contributions and Taxes, which you urge to be I yrannically imposed on the whole Nation, are very heavy, to which I have already given you an answer, viz. that we may all thanke your party for it, that they are not onely continued but increast through your partyes onely means, which cease not by their assiduall plots to disturbe the present peace and Government to their owne losse, and grief of fuch as would willingly bear the burthen, so they might enjoy their peace and quietnesse, as having learned the sweetnesse of that old Addage, defend me, and spend me. In a word more, I shall advise you in particular to rest content with that Government which Providence hath allotted us, under which you may as yet live both secure and plentifull if you please, dispose your self therefore to yeeld that Obedience which becomes all those that love the publick, and their own domestick peace; If not, I feare me you will kicke against the pricks, hurt, if not utterly ruine your felf and Family, as many thousands of perverse Fools have done, and fail not to remember, that there is a Court of Iustice that spares none which shall disturbe the publick peace, and that Government which we may safely beleeve, God hath and will establish.

This is the Counsell of him who really hath a care of your preservati-

on, and forests,

Your well-wishing Friend if you so please to esteem him.

Loe this is the man that made not God his strength, but trusted in the abundance of his riches; and strengthned himselfe in his wickednesse. P. 52.7.

The words of his mouth were smoother than Butter, but war was in his heart, his words were fofter than oyle, yet were

they drawn Swords. Pfalm 5 5.21.

downe into the pit of destruction, bloody and descritfull men shall not live out halfe their dayes. verse 23:

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